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## East Europe Report

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15 January 1986

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ECONOMY

YUGOSLAVIA

#### DATA ON YUGOSLAV ENTERPRISES IN FOREIGN COUNTRIES

Zagreb EKONOMSKI PREGLED in Serbo-Croatian No 1-2 Jan-Feb 85 pp 61-70

[Article by Jozo Previsic: "Yugoslav Production Enterprises Abroad"]

[Text] Past investments by Yugoslav OURs [organizations of associated labor] in enterprises abroad have not had any significant role in the foreign trade policy of our country. It was only at the beginning of the 1970's that this form of cooperation with foreign business became a more significant element of foreign trade policy, and during this decade, a larger number of enterprises are being opened abroad. Until then, economic activities abroad were mostly conducted by business units, and less through our trade enterprises abroad<sup>1</sup>. A very small number of the enterprises abroad were production enterprises. It has only been in the last few years that Yugoslav enterprises have been more inclined to open production enterprises abroad; this was particularly evident following the adoption of the 1977 Law on Conducting Economic Activities Abroad<sup>2</sup>.

It is obvious that our economic system has not given sufficient attention to this form of cooperation with foreign business. Individual sporadic cases were more the result of solving some immediate problems of the founders in Yugoslavia than of a comprehensive and systematic approach by the Yugoslav economy as a whole. Nor is the present situation, in spite of the existence of a larger number of production enterprises, the result of a systematic approach. However, the situation is such that in the near future one may expect the formation of a comprehensive system for the Yugoslav economy's approach in opening production enterprises abroad. It is precisely the OURs and the economic chambers that are demanding that the Federal Executive Council [FEC] and its agencies reexamine the existing legal regulations on investments abroad and that they give greater weight to this form of cooperation with foreign countries in current economic policy measures.

The failure of a significant number of production enterprises abroad in the past should be a significant reason for a more thorough discussion of this problem. It is obvious that the absence of this problem from public attention and the complete lack of any analyses or research on the existing results of past investments abroad lead to an unplanned approach in foreign markets, the results of which to date cannot satisfy us. Around the middle of 1981, a public discussion began concerning the transformation of our foreign trade

network abroad, but at that time the opportunity for a discussion of our production enterprises abroad as well was missed.

#### 1. Survey of the Existing Production Enterprises Abroad

Every enterprise abroad, even a production enterprise, has to be registered with the SSVT [Federal Secretariat for Foreign Trade], where the Registry of Enterprises Abroad is kept. According to the data from the SSVT Registry, in 1983 the Yugoslav economy had 319 enterprises abroad, of which 13 percent or 40 were production enterprises.

Of the total number of enterprises abroad, as many as 66 percent were fully owned, and 34 were mixed. This trend toward holding full ownership in an enterprise abroad was more pronounced with trade enterprises than with production ones. The percentage of fully owned enterprises (100 percent owned by Yugoslav OURs) in the total number of enterprises is 66 percent, while it is only 1/4, or 25 percent, for production enterprises. Full ownership is more pronounced for enterprises located in the developed countries (Europe, North America, and Australia) than in the developing countries (Africa, Asia).

The spatial distribution of enterprises abroad is very unequal. Most of the enterprises are located in developed regions, and only a smaller portion in the developing countries. This is characteristic of both trade and production enterprises.

It appears from the data presented that Yugoslav OURs are opening production enterprises in the countries in which Yugoslav trade enterprises already exist. This means that trade enterprises are usually the precursors of production enterprises. It is only in 5 countries (Algeria, Guinea, Malta, Mexico, and Ecuador) that production enterprises exist and trade enterprises do not.

The existing 319 enterprises abroad are located in 45 countries on all 6 continents. The production enterprises abroad are located in 24 countries on 5 continents (not a single Yugoslav production enterprise exists in Australia).

Table 1.

#### Yugoslav Enterprises Abroad

Location of Enterprises	Total of Enterprises		Production Enterprises	
	as %	% fully owned	as %	% fully owned
Africa	13	39	42	18
Australia	2	67	-	-
Asia	2	50	3	-
Europe	68	69	37	40
South America	2	80	3	-
North America	13	74	15	17
Total	100	66	100	25
	(N=319)		(N=40)	



## 2. Economic Activities in Which Investments Were Made in Production Abroad

The investments of Yugoslav OURs abroad have mostly been aimed at expanding the trade network in foreign markets (business units and trade enterprises)<sup>3</sup>, and only to a smaller extent at production abroad (production enterprises).

Of the total of 40 production enterprises abroad, 24 were founded in developing countries, and 16 in developed countries (the United States and the European countries). Of these 24 enterprises in developing countries, 14 were established for the mining and lower-level processing of mineral resources, and to secure necessary raw materials that are in short supply in the Yugoslav economy. Most of them are wood-processing enterprises that deal with the cutting and processing of exotic wood, following by chemical-pharmaceutical enterprises that process raw materials for the needs of Yugoslav producers of medicines, chemicals, oil, and metal products. Purely production enterprises, whose production is based on Yugoslav technology, are mostly in the field of the electrical industry, and to a smaller extent in the metal processing industry. The business of these enterprises is based on continually importing parts from Yugoslavia and completing them, with a small amount of additional processing, or even only assembly as part of their object of business.

## 3. Investments in Production Enterprises Abroad

The main motive for investments for capitalist enterprises is the profit resulting from following an aggressive marketing strategy in multinational marketing. For Yugoslav production enterprises abroad, profit is not and must not be the dominant purpose of investment. Yugoslav investments are based on the coproduction strategy followed by Yugoslav OURs in their approach to the world market (coproduction marketing). Even in cases in which a Yugoslav OUR (or several OURs in cooperation) is the exclusive owner of a production enterprise abroad, one can speak of coproduction, i.e. the future coproduction between the newly established enterprise abroad and the parent OUR in Yugoslavia. Coproduction is the framework that contains the purpose for direct Yugoslav investments abroad, and a production enterprise abroad is exclusively a means for achieving that purpose. Although a Yugoslav enterprise abroad is organized in one of the forms of capitalist trade societies (which is its external form), the essence of the operation of such an enterprise is not foreign to the socialist self-managing order. Here it is necessary to distinguish the external form from the content of business based on coproduction.

The Yugoslav economy has as its purpose the construction of permanent production cooperation with the foreign producers, and a permanent presence in foreign markets, while respecting and taking into account the development aims and the sociopolitical, social, and cultural characteristics of the country in which the production enterprise is established. In this way, the Yugoslav economy, together with the economy of the country in which the Yugoslav production enterprise is located, participates in international production cooperation and in the flows of the international market, while using its own production capacity.

In spite of the fact that profitable operation is not the basic or exclusive goal of direct Yugoslav investments abroad, it is and must be one of the goals of such a means of operation. Thus, it is not the main and exclusive goal, but it is of course one of the goals. The significance of profit for an individual Yugoslav enterprise abroad depends primarily upon the object of the business and the motives for opening each individual enterprise. But profit is the result of good management of social resources which are entrusted to Yugoslav producers, and the result of good business; and that is the goal of every producer.

Securing raw materials and semifinished products is the aim of a large part of direct Yugoslav investments, especially for the founding OURs whose production is based upon such raw materials and semifinished products.

The contribution of the Yugoslav founder has very often been manifested in exports of Yugoslav equipment, the performance of work, or the supply of the technical knowledge and organizational and management skills, and this has resulted in a smaller expenditure of foreign exchange resources and less use of credits by the Yugoslav founders.

Along with the above-mentioned goals, one should also mention bypassing various protectionist measures and customs and other restrictions, and reducing transportation costs.

Of all the goals presented, the most important has naturally been increasing the exports of Yugoslav products and services to foreign countries, either in the form of the founding contribution upon the establishment of the enterprise, or in the form of the marketing of semifinished and finished products in a foreign market.

Since we do not have enough capital even for our own accumulation (for which we are taking foreign credits), a surplus of capital cannot be the reason for direct Yugoslav investments. The reason is marketing our own products and services in a foreign market, and securing raw materials and semifinished products for industries that are short of domestic raw materials.

Most of our OURs have limited marketing opportunities in the Yugoslav market. The large OURs, which would produce large amounts with low production costs and which could compete with world producers, must market their goods in a foreign market. The possibility of selling goods elsewhere in the world is proportionate to the quality and price of the products and services offered, and this is a consequence of our production costs, better organization of labor, and correct use of marketing; this in turn is as a rule associated with the large OURs, since only relatively large OURs can become involved in direct investments abroad. Since we do not have capital, we can invest nonmonetary resources (technology, goods, services, and engineering). In addition to this, our manufacturing capacities need raw materials that we do not have, or that we do not have enough of. We have therefore been forced to acquire them from foreign countries.



#### 4. Yugoslav Capital Invested in Production Enterprises Abroad

It is difficult to speak of the amount of capital invested in Yugoslav enterprises abroad to date, for several reasons. All of the data related to direct investments abroad are an official secret (article 5 paragraph VI of the Law on Conducting Economic Activities Abroad), and the founders themselves are reluctant to yield them. Furthermore, the founding capital in enterprises abroad that is recorded as the fundamental capital of the society does not have to be paid in full. Also, the data on the capital recorded are not realistic, since in the meantime, in the course of the enterprise's work, its amount has changed (usually it has increased through new investments and the accumulation of profit). In addition to the difficulties cited, it is frequently the case that the capital invested is expressed in local currency, and so it is extremely difficult to establish a uniform value expressed in one of the well-known currencies (the U.S. dollar, for example) in order to recalculate the value in accordance with official exchange rates. This means that these data have a relative value for use.

According to 1966 data<sup>4</sup>, the value of the investments of Yugoslav founders in enterprises abroad was almost \$4 million, while in 1980<sup>5</sup> it was estimated to be more than \$60 million. This means that the capital invested in enterprises abroad increased more than 20 times during a period of 14 years, and that during the period under discussion, 1966-1980, it increased by an average of 24 percent annually.

According to our estimates<sup>6</sup> the capital invested in Yugoslav enterprises abroad in 1983 had a value of \$600 million, \$252 million of which was in production enterprises. Since no enterprises were established during the period 1980-1983 with high participation by Yugoslav founders, we feel that the value of \$60 million for 1980 is very underestimated.

The Yugoslav share in the above-mentioned 40 production enterprises abroad is \$252 million, but the value of the total founding capital in these production enterprises is \$277,335,000. This means that the investment of the Yugoslav founders is larger than 90 percent. There are fairly large differences between individual areas, however. Yugoslav investments in production enterprises in the developing countries constitute 85.28 percent of all investments, which amounts to \$215 million, while the investments in the developed countries are only 14.72 percent, or \$37 million. The largest portion of the capital is invested in the African countries (84.82 percent), followed by the European countries (14.55 percent), etc.

The largest individual investment by a Yugoslav founder is \$122,305,643. The lowest investment in founding capital is \$1,152. In 7 production enterprises abroad, the Yugoslav founders individually have a share of more than \$1 million in the founding capital. The lowest share in percent in the total value of the founding capital of a Yugoslav founder is 4 percent, but in absolute terms this is all of \$1,742,000.

Because of the fact that in most cases the founding capital of an enterprise abroad is increased by an additional registration of capital or the accumulation of profit, it seems to us that the value of the investments of

the Yugoslav founders, \$300 million, should not be overestimated. But it is also necessary to take into account the fact that some production enterprises abroad have "swallowed" not only their own accumulation, but also additional funds from the Yugoslav founders, moreover in order to cover operating losses, and so this makes the estimated value even higher.

The significance of the values cited on a worldwide scale is indicated for us by the fact that in 1978, the total value of direct investments abroad by firms in the United States was more than \$14 billion, as compared to almost \$3 billion for West Germany, \$2.3 billion for Japan, etc.

In cases in which the investment by the founder consists of nonmonetary goods, the problem of establishing the real value of the investment arises. In practice, an investment in kind, is usually assessed according to the criteria established in the agreement on founding the society, unless the law specifies otherwise.

In addition to an investment in kind, Yugoslav founders have also used their own financial resources or bank funds (credits). In contrast to trade organizations of associated labor, production OURs have used bank credits more often than their own funds. Uncontrolled indebtedness to foreign banks for the founding investment, and especially for working capital during operation, has put some Yugoslav enterprises in a very difficult financial situation. In practice, a tendency has been observed for the founders to give credits to enterprises abroad more often and more abundantly than required by the operation of the enterprises abroad. The reason for this is the fact that in this way part of the profit returns to the parent enterprise in the form of interest (which has made it possible to avoid restrictions on transferring profits and to avoid taxation).

In cases when it has been necessary for an enterprise abroad, in accordance with the regulations of the country in question, to register the owner of the share (founder), a physical person (the chief director of the enterprise abroad or one of the members of the managing board) has often been registered as the owner instead of the Yugoslav OUR.<sup>8</sup> In such cases, the Yugoslav founder appointed an individual from its own OUR (usually the director) in whose name the Yugoslav portion of the ownership was recorded. At the same time, a statement was taken from these individuals that they renounced ownership of the portion of the Yugoslav investment in the enterprise abroad and the profits earned in favor of the real owner, the Yugoslav OUR.<sup>9</sup>

#### 5. Founders of Production Enterprises Abroad

A decision to establish an enterprise abroad is made by a management body in the OUR that intends to found an enterprise abroad or to invest funds in existing enterprises abroad (article 4 and article 15 paragraph II of the Law on Conducting Economic Activities Abroad). This decision must contain information about the object of activity, the business program, and the financial indicators, and a report on the economic justification for the founding; the decision is made by any OUR autonomously in accordance with its own assessment, while adhering to the prescribed legal conditions.

Of the total of 40 production enterprises abroad, 59 percent of them were founded by OURs headquartered in Slovenia, and of the total of 16 enterprises located in the developed countries, all of 88 percent were founded by founders from Slovenia. The founders of all the production enterprises abroad are OURs from 5 socialist republics and 1 autonomous province, while OURs from Montenegro and Kosovo do not have a single production enterprise abroad.

The data on the regional distribution of production enterprises abroad with respect to the headquarters of the founder indicate that the representation of founders by republic-provincial origin has been balanced to some extent only in the African and North American countries. In Asia, Europe, and South America there are only enterprises whose founders are from Slovenia.

If several OURs jointly (in a consortium) found an enterprise abroad, then they are obligated to attach a self-managing agreement on regulating their mutual relations to the request for founding (article 15 paragraph IV of the Law on Conducting Economic Activities Abroad). The self-managing agreement particularly settles the following: authorization for representation and agents, the rights and obligations of each of the founders with respect to the enterprise abroad, the purpose for founding the enterprise, the nature of its activity, control over operations, the share in the founding investment, the way in which profits are distributed, the transfer of profits to Yugoslavia, the conditions for changing the amount of the founding capital, termination of the enterprise's operation, etc.

In cases in which, in addition to several Yugoslav OURs, foreign partners (one or several) are also founders, the Yugoslav founders first conclude a self-managing agreement among themselves, and only afterwards begin concluding a contract with the foreign partner or partners. The conclusion of this contract precedes the establishment of the enterprise abroad.

The contract determines the mutual relations of the Yugoslav and foreign investors with respect to the goals of the establishment of the enterprise, the nature of the business, the founding capital, etc. It is particularly important to work out precise provisions on mutual relations in carrying out the functions of the administration and management of the joint enterprise (the selection of management and supervisory bodies, the way in which decisions are made, etc.). The Yugoslav founders must also take into account the fact that the contract on establishing a joint enterprise must also necessarily include provisions on solving any disagreements among the partners, and sanctions for failing to abide by the provisions agreed upon.<sup>10</sup> Particular attention should be given to the method for making decisions of vital significance for the operation of the enterprise, in accordance with the regulations of the country in question,<sup>11</sup> and taking into account the regulations dealing with the protection of minority ownership and the protection of foreign investors.

Of the 40 production enterprises abroad, 10 are fully owned by the Yugoslav founders. There are only 4 enterprises where the founders are several Yugoslav OURs, however; 2 are enterprises that were each founded by 2 Yugoslav OURs, 1 enterprise was founded by 3 Yugoslav OURs, and 1 by 4 OURs.



Of the 30 mixed enterprises, the Yugoslav founders have a majority share in 18 of them (50-99 percent ownership), and a minority share in 12 enterprises (1-49 percent ownership). There are only 2 enterprises where the Yugoslav founders have less than a 25 percent share in the basic capital: 4 percent ownership at one enterprise and 19 percent at the other.

This trend toward full or majority ownership by the Yugoslav founders is even more pronounced in trade enterprises abroad. Of the total of 279 trade enterprises abroad, 200 are fully owned, and only 79 are partially owned by Yugoslav OURs.

In regard to the economic activities of the founders, we can state that the Yugoslav founders are primarily from the electrical industry and chemical-pharmaceutical complex (16 OURs), while other economic activities are represented to a lesser extent. The category of other activities includes OURs (13) from the textile, food, and lumber industries, and producers of sports equipment.

Usually the activity of the founders abroad is the same as the activity of the founders in Yugoslavia. This is natural, since the Law on Conducting Economic Activities Abroad, article 5 paragraph 11, states the OURs can conduct activities in enterprises abroad that are within the limits of the activities that the OURs conduct in Yugoslavia and for which they are registered in the court registry.

#### 6. Mutual Relations of the Founder and the Enterprise Abroad

In founding a production enterprise abroad, it is essential to establish the mutual relations of the founder and the founded enterprise, and if the enterprise is a mixed one, the mutual relations of the founders. The type of relations is determined by the legal organizational form of the enterprise founded abroad, the documents regarding the founding, and the contract between the founders, which will be adapted to the goals of the founding and the nature of the business of the enterprise abroad.

In practice, the form of mutual relations is not sufficiently generalized, but it is necessary to establish accurately and precisely the obligations and rights of the founders and the founded enterprise within the framework of the planned cooperation in future business.<sup>12</sup> This particularly applies to the Yugoslav founders, since we have determined that the two main goals vital to our founders are increasing exports of their own products and services to foreign countries, and importing the raw materials and semifinished products that they need. In practice, it has frequently happened that the originally established goals of the founders were not met later on. This particularly applies to the Yugoslav founders of enterprises in Africa for the cutting and processing of exotic woods, but this also occurs in other industries.<sup>13</sup> In this way relatively large investments later turned out to be barren.

It is necessary to provide for rigorous sanctions, which will have a preventive effect upon possible violators, for failing to adhere to the goals set for the operation of the enterprise and to the contractual obligations of the founders in mixed enterprises (especially those in which the Yugoslav

share is a minority one). It is also necessary, if the laws of the country in question permit this, to have the documents on founding the enterprise abroad provide for a method of decision-making that will allow for adequate protection of the minority investor (at least that decisions in a meeting must be made by a 2/3 majority).

The management personnel at Yugoslav enterprises abroad are mostly from the ranks of the founding OUR, if the enterprise is fully owned or if it is partially owned but the Yugoslav founder has a majority share. In practice, it is most often the case that most of the management personnel come from the ranks of the founder. If the Yugoslav founder has majority ownership, then usually some of the management personnel are from the ranks of the Yugoslav founder (usually one of the directors, or a deputy director).

Past experiences with transferring profits to Yugoslavia have not been the best, for several reasons. The first is of course that a large portion of past Yugoslav production enterprises abroad not only did not have any profits, but rather operated at a loss. The second reason is that the accumulation of the enterprise abroad itself, and additional funds from the founders, were used to increase the basic capital in order to expand business. The third reason is the fact that sometimes the Yugoslav founders themselves invested the profit earned in other enterprises abroad. One of the reasons, naturally, is that the Yugoslav founders avoided bringing the profit back to Yugoslavia because of the existing situation with the shortage of foreign exchange. Consequently, in various ways they have avoided their legal obligation for the mandatory annual transfer of part of the profit to Yugoslavia (article 15 paragraph II of the Law on Conducting Economic Activities Abroad, in accordance with article 25 paragraphs I and II of the same Law).

#### 7. Past Results in the Operation of Yugoslav Production Enterprises Abroad

For every investor in enterprises abroad, and thus for Yugoslav OURs as well, the results achieved in the operation of the enterprises abroad are most important. We can view the results in terms of the various forms in which they are manifested. The most important forms are the following: profit earned in relation to the investment made, achievement of the planned goals of the investment, and business experience in international production cooperation.

It is very difficult to analyze the profit earned from the investments of Yugoslav OURs in production enterprises abroad, for several reasons. In addition to the lack of data on the balance-sheets of enterprises abroad, one of the main reasons is the relative useable value of such data. In the operation of enterprises abroad, it is a well-known practice for the profit earned not to be shown in the accounts, or to be shown as less in order to avoid tax obligations and restrictions on the transfer of profit. On the basis of analyses of five actual cases<sup>14</sup>, we can conclude that some of the enterprises abroad not only operated at a loss and thus reduced their basic capital, but also went into liquidation or bankruptcy because of poor business. Some enterprises probably use the profit they earn to cover operating expenses, and we assume that there are also enterprises abroad that

used the profit they earned to repay the capital invested by the Yugoslav investors and provide some earnings.

The Yugoslav Law on Conducting Economic Activities Abroad offers two possibilities with respect to the use of profits earned from investments in enterprises abroad. The first is that the investor transfers the profit he has earned to Yugoslavia, at least in the amount cited in the request for opening the enterprise abroad (article 15 paragraph II point 1 and article 18 of the Law). The other possibility is that the investor invests the profit earned in an existing production enterprise in order to expand production or in some other enterprise in the same country or a different one (article 24 paragraph I points 1-5 of the Law).

The competitive power of Yugoslav OURs abroad is very weak. This has resulted in the payment of high purchase prices in bidding and concessions for mineral and forest resources, and the occurrence of corruption (especially in some developing countries) when the enterprises are being established, in order to obtain permits and approval for operation, and to ensure future production and a market. Such a practice has been fairly widespread in the operation of some Yugoslav production enterprises abroad, and the result of this has been uncontrolled behavior in the international market under the conditions of very sharp competition with Western and Eastern international firms and their branches in the countries constituting the market. The result of all of this has been giving up on our sociopolitical commitments, with the explanation that such actions were quite necessary in the conditions prevailing in these markets.

Past experience in doing business with foreign countries through our own production enterprises has made it possible for both the OURs themselves and also administrative and legislative bodies to acquire certain information. The consequence should be a more realistic view of the conditions, problems, and operation of enterprises abroad.

Practice indicates that the approach of Yugoslav OURs to the foreign market is mainly fragmented, disorganized, and unprepared, some systemic issues have not been resolved, the social criteria are unclear, Yugoslavia's credit possibilities are relatively small, the competition with the traditionally present international firms is sharp, the foreign capital of both the highly developed capitalist and East European countries is present, and there is a fairly poor choice of foreign partners for joint investments.

The assistance from Yugoslav business banks in the establishment and operation of production enterprises abroad is often very slight. The credit committees are inefficient, a long time is spent waiting for guarantees, and the OURs' collection of their own funds often takes place very slowly.

Unnecessary waiting periods in the administrative procedure, for various approvals and documentation, are rather exhausting and make foreign investment more expensive.

There is a fairly significant problem with communications in the operation of production enterprises abroad and of the parent OURs in Yugoslavia. In a few



OURs, there are separate sections or services responsible for the operation of enterprises abroad, while in most OURs an individual takes care of enterprises abroad, usually the general director or one of his assistants. Such a system of communications has been shown to be extremely poor, since most of the employees are thus cut off from information about their own enterprise abroad and the activities concerning it. The problem is also increased by the way in which the responsible individual in Yugoslavia usually keeps most of the information (or the key information) exclusively for himself or for a narrow circle of management personnel in the parent OUR, considering all information about the operation of the enterprise abroad to be a business secret.

The personnel function has been very poorly conducted in the past practice of Yugoslav enterprises abroad. Those appointed as managers abroad are often people with unstable morals, who do not know foreign languages (not even the language of the country where they are sent to manage the enterprise), inclined to satisfy primarily their own interests, and, which is particularly important, inclined to conceal the correct and true information about the operation of the enterprises abroad that they manage.

The Yugoslav investors have not always been careful enough in selecting the partners, especially foreign physical persons.

In cases in which the enterprise abroad is linked to the parent OUR in Yugoslavia by subcontractor relationships, the parent firm has not always fulfilled the obligations it undertook on time or in accordance with the conditions established.

Opening production enterprises abroad is sometimes viewed primarily as a political act, and only then as an economic one, which has had serious consequences for the operation of the enterprises.

A significant reason for the frequent failures of Yugoslav enterprises abroad is the lack of funds for larger operations and the disunity and distrust among the Yugoslav producers; this has often resulted from a fear of losses, and in this way initiative and any at all risky undertakings have been hampered.

In conclusion, one should answer the question: for what purpose have Yugoslav production enterprises abroad conducted their activity? Has it been for the isolated interests of a certain group of management personnel in the OURs, the group business interest of the parent OUR, the social regional (republic or provincial) interest, or the social interest of the country as a whole? The past results of the operation of enterprises abroad indicate that this is frequently a question of satisfying the group business interest of the parent OUR or the regional interest. Sometimes, the opening of an enterprise abroad is in the interest of a certain group of management personnel in the parent OUR or both interests are conjoined; the broader social interest of Yugoslavia as a whole has very rarely been taken into account.

Such a practice has led to a conflict between the political basis for international production cooperation and the economic conduct of the enterprises abroad with respect to the goals set. In order for us to

participate in the production competition in the world market, we paid an entry fee of several hundred million dollars, and we are still waiting for the results.

#### Footnotes

1. Of more than 1,000 units abroad in 1975, more than 700 of them were business units, and the rest were financial establishments and enterprises.
2. SLUZHBI LIST SPRJ, No. 15/77. Afterwards the Law was changed and supplemented, and the full text was published in SLUZHBI LIST SPRJ No. 5/82.
3. Most of the trade network is engaged in mediation and representation, and only a small part of it with classic trade business (buying and selling goods with one's own funds). The consequence of such an approach is that Yugoslav trade societies abroad earn most of their income by taking commissions from the production OURs for the services they render in exporting or importing goods. In such business the business risk is exclusively the affair of the producer, and trade does not share in it.
4. M. Zivancevic, R. Prica, and D. Mitrovic: "Direct Investments Abroad," Institute for Foreign Trade -- Studies for Jugobanka, study no. 8, Belgrade, 1973, p. 317.
5. M. Jovic: "International Coproduction Marketing," Informator, Zagreb, 1982, p. 131.
6. We made the estimate on the basis of the capital registered in accordance with the SSVT Registry, while converting all values expressed in local currency into U.S. dollars at the average official exchange rate for the specific years.
7. Some countries avoid having the founders themselves estimate the value of their investments in kind. Thus, for example, state agencies make the estimate in the United States, Mexico, Colombia, and Greece, and experts appointed by the board of the society assess investments in kind in France, Brazil, Turkey, Ecuador, etc. In West Germany and Italy, the estimate is made by a court. The laws of Argentina, Peru, Belgium, and Great Britain do not specify a procedure for assessing an investment in kind, and it is left up to the partners to settle this themselves.
8. In some countries, the owner of the Yugoslav enterprise is a physical person even when the law of the country in question has not required this. The reason lies in the fact that such a person (usually from the ranks of the founder) does not have to request permission to work in the country in question, since he is the owner of the enterprise founded. A work permit for a foreign citizen may be denied because there are domestic citizens who have the qualifications to conduct the same activities.

9. The real "value" of such statements is best indicated by the frequent occurrences of these physical persons "usurping" the already registered ownership, and refusing to return to Yugoslavia -- see "Recommendation on Eliminating and Curbing Illegalities and Irregularities in the Operation of Enterprises Abroad," NARODNE NOVINE SRH, No. 10/1976.

10. For example, that the enterprise abroad does not fulfill its contracted obligations with respect to exporting or importing certain goods or services of the Yugoslav founders, etc.

11. The Dutch firm Philips, which since 1979 has owned a 24.5 percent share in the basic capital of the German firm Grundig, expressed its intention (according to a statement by the majority owner Max Grundig), of increasing its share by 0.5 percent in 1984. This insignificant percentage would have far-reaching consequences, since it would make it possible for Philips, with a 25 percent share in Grundig, to have the right to veto all major business decisions.

12. Such as, for example: an enterprise abroad will purchase such and such a value or amount of precisely designated products from the founder in Yugoslavia, or use a precisely set value of services, or the enterprise will primarily buy or sell the products of the founder, and so forth.

13. The case of the establishment of the enterprises Socabois in Cameroon (lumber), Slovenia Bois in the Central African Republic (lumber), Cibalijs in India (the production and processing of leather), etc.

14. The Yugoslav enterprises analyzed were Gorenje Korting Electronic GmbH und CO KG, Elan Sportartikelerzeugung und Handelsgesellschaft mbH, Meblo Italiana SPA, Socabois SA, and Podravka Gartenberg Konservefabrik GmbH.

9909

CSO: 2800/13

MILITARY

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

#### WHEELED ARMORED PERSONNEL CARRIER DESCRIBED

Prague ATOM in Slovak No 9, 1985 p 12

[Text] The wheeled armored personnel carrier 5937 is a battle vehicle of Soviet manufacture used by the Warsaw Pact countries' armies and equipped according to its specific uses. The vehicle has three axles with an all-wheel drive, is highly mobile, and has amphibious capabilities. The body is of pontoon type and built of welded steel plates divided into two waterproof chambers. The 4-cycle, 6-cylinder, diesel engine is rear mounted in the V shape. It has a direct fuel injection and is liquid cooled. Together with the transmission, it is attached to the frame at four points. The engine torsion is transferred by way of a dry, friction clutch with hydraulic power assist from the mechanical 5-gear transmission and an additional 5-shaft auxiliary transmission that is equipped with a differential to join the axles. The movement is transmitted from the auxiliary transmission to the transmission and to the wheel reduction gear through the connecting shaft. The auxiliary transmission driving mechanism, located behind the engine, is driven by one connecting shaft. The vehicle has an independent wheel suspension. The control of and changes in tire pressure are exercised by the pressure regulator. The dual power assist mechanism ensures wheel camber to the desired direction, and, at the same time, the camber of the rear axle wheels. The wheel brakes are hydraulically controlled and the hand brake is of the hand-lever type. The water navigation mechanism consists of two water-jets with a drive from the transmission. The water-jet covers control the turning and reverse maneuvers. The carrier is equipped with a pumping filter-ventil automatic fire prevention mechanism.

#### Basic Technical Data:

Operating weight	10,630 kg
Length	9,165 mm
Width	2,782 mm
Ground clearance	430 mm
Maximum speed	70 km/hr
Max floating speed	8 km/hr
Angle of negotiable incline	30°
Controlled consumption	40 liters/100 km
Turning radius	7 meters

The lubricating system is pressure controlled with a dry key box, on cooler, a coarse centrifugal cleaner and pre-lubricating pump.

The fuel system is equipped with a fine dust filter with a piston transportation pump, a high pressure pump, and a mechanical revolution regulator with an automatic pre-injection clutch. The air system has a two-stage combined filter with radiators for air heating. The cooling system is of the enclosed type with ejector-blower of air through the cooling system.

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CSO: 2400/102



MILITARY

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

BACKGROUND DATA PROVIDED ON NEW DEFENSE MINISTER

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 18 Nov 85 p 5

[Article by Peter Jochen Winters: "Unconditionally Obedient to the Party"]

[Text] "I have been tied to him by cordial friendship since we first met in June 1945. It is based not only on our common weltanschauung and political convictions and our joint activity in the youth federation for many years but also on his open and comradely nature." Thus wrote Honecker in his memoirs about Heinz Kessler, whom he promoted to army general and appointed GDR defense minister on Tuesday [12 November]. In 1945 Ulbricht arranged for Honecker and Kessler to meet and asked them to form a uniform youth federation. Honecker had been released from prison, and Keller had come back from the Soviet Union. The charter of the FDJ of 7 March 1946 bears the signatures of Honecker and Kessler, among others. Whereas Honecker became FDJ chief and remained so until 1955, Keller was chairman of the Berlin FDJ until 1948 and then until 1950 worked side by side with Honecker on the Central Council of the FDJ.

On 15 July 1941, not many days after Hitler's invasion of the Soviet Union, soldier Heinz Kessler deserted from the German Wehrmacht and went over to the Russians. He was the son of a worker and KPD official from Silesia, a Young Red Pioneer, a mechanic by trade, and antifascist. After attending the central Antifascist School in Moscow, Kessler, in 1943, was among the cofounders of the "Free Germany" National Committee, on behalf of which, as plenipotentiary for the front, he called on German soldiers in Russia to desert. Decorated with Soviet orders, he returned to Germany as a second lieutenant. As youth affairs official, he joined the Berlin Municipal Delegates Assembly in 1946 and in 1948 was one of the organizers of the riots which led to a split of the Municipal Administration.

On the wishes of the Russians and GDR President Pieck (who said to him, "You must become a general") Kessler in 1950 was made inspector general in the Main Administration of the People's Police and charged with establishing an air force. In the rank of major general, he became the head of the Air Force of the Barracked People's Police in 1952. After the establishment of the National People's Army (NVA) in 1956, he was head of Air Force/Air Defense until 1967. Then he became chief of the NVA Main Staff, in other words chief of the General Staff. This post he abandoned in 1979. Since then he has been chief of the Political Main Administration of the NVA, and thus the top



polit-officer of the GDR Armed Forces. He has been deputy defense minister since 1957—longer than his predecessor Hoffmann was minister. In 1966 he was promoted to colonel general. Kessler, who will turn 66 in January, has been a member of the party executive and Central Committee since the establishment of the SED in 1946, and a deputy of the People's Chamber since the establishment of the GDR in 1949.

The new GDR defense minister, who walks dragging one leg since a serious traffic accident in 1971, does not appear to have learned the requisite lessons from personal experience. Otherwise he would not have advocated unconditional fulfillment of orders, as he did before the SED Central Committee a year ago, saying: "For us in the armed forces, consolidation of socialist consciousness is the key to unconditional fulfillment of the mission of the worker-and-peasant power, of any order."

8790/12859

CSO: 2300/95

MILITARY

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

MORE ARRESTS REPORTED OF CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTORS

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 18 Nov 85 p 5

[Article by "Ws": "More Conscientious Objectors Arrested--Their Number in GDR Prisons Greater Than Ever--Differing Procedures"]

[Text] Berlin, 17 Nov--At present more young men than ever are in prison in the GDR because they are conscientious objectors. This is clear from reports by church and other bodies. The Protestant Church in Berlin-Brandenburg knows about 40 to 50 arrested by the People's Police because they refused any kind of military service (including service in the unarmed construction units of the National People's Army) and failed to obey call-ups. It is not just a question of persons who had contacts with the church and based their refusal on religious convictions. In addition there exists in the GDR a sizable number of total objectors who, for instance, failed to honor call-ups pointing out that they had applied for moving to the Federal Republic. In East Berlin they too reportedly were arrested on the day of the call-up. All told, there are reports of about 50 persons having been arrested in East Berlin in addition to the cases known to the church.

Outside East Berlin, procedures by the authorities against conscientious objectors apparently differ. Some cases are known of young men whom the authorities know to be conscientious objectors and who have applied for permission to move not being called up and not being arrested as conscientious objectors. Some of these had not made application until they were urged to do so by the authorities. Others who had made a similar case reportedly were arrested. Reservists objecting to armed service after being called up for service in the reserves, following completion of basic military service, reportedly have also been arrested. One also learns of the arrest of persons subject to military service whose application to serve as construction soldiers was refused and who then, when they were told to report to an armed service branch, refused to serve. A total objector named Lutz Saeuberlich (married, one child) recently was sentenced to 22 months' imprisonment in Zittau (Dresden Bezirk of the GDR).

Not included in the above mentioned figures are "Jehovah's Witnesses," the supporters of a sect banned in the GDR. "Jehovah's Witnesses" reject any military or alternative service as a matter of principle and let themselves be arrested without resistance or protest. It is calculated that every year about 100 Jehovah's witnesses refuse military service in the GDR and are sentenced as conscientious objectors. The number of Jehovah's Witnesses in the GDR is estimated as about 30,000 in all.

At least in one case of a total objector arrested in East Berlin, a comprehensive house search was conducted. The person in question is Herbert Misslitz, who had been particularly active in public youth work of the Protestant Church and had had problems with the authorities on several occasions in the past few years. Born in 1960, Misslitz played a key role in forming a new church community in which primarily fringe groups of society were to be accommodated. By arresting him, the authorities presumably also intended to disrupt the establishment of this community.

8790/12859

CSO: 2300/95

POLITICS

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

DAILY ON IMPORTANCE OF PEACE DIALOGUE

AU061543 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 4 Dec 85 p 1

[Editorial: "The Fate of Europe and the World Is Indivisible"]

[Excerpt] The European continent reflects particularly sharply the complex era in which we live. Today, as never before, it is necessary to have an active cooperation from all states and all forces in the West and in the East, which are in favor of the normalization of the international situation.

Lasting peace can only be achieved through detente, disarmament, and fruitful cooperation.

The socialist countries are purposefully striving for the creation of a system of collective security in Europe. The Soviet Union already came forward with such a proposal before World War II. The Warsaw Pact has been proclaiming that objective from the outset of its existence. The continually new initiatives of our community have always aimed at limiting the arms buildup, banning nuclear weapons, and other weapons of mass destruction.

The collective proposals of the Warsaw Pact countries for the conclusion of a treaty on a mutual nonuse of military force and maintaining peaceful relations between the member-countries of the Warsaw Pact and NATO are still topical. Particularly important are the initiatives whose objective is Europe free of nuclear weapons. This path could be made easier by an agreement on a mutual reduction of intermediate range missiles in Europe—even without a direct context with the space and strategic weapons.

However, from the side of the West the peace initiatives of the Warsaw Pact countries meet, as a rule, with a wall of silence or various evasions or distortion of their intentions. That is also what the joint Czechoslovak-GDR effort for creating a zone free of chemical weapons in central Europe has met. A similar thing has happened to proposals to create nuclear-free zones, especially the Swedish proposal for establishing a nuclear-free corridor along the line separating the countries of NATO and the Warsaw Pact. And to this day the West also owes an answer to the compromise proposals in Vienna.

This is the consequence of the rigid stance caused above all by U.S. reactionary military circles pursuing military superiority. For example, it was

precisely on American pressure that the Netherlands--despite four and a half million protest signatures--accepted the plan on the deployment of new American cruise missiles. However, Europe more than once came to the conclusion that persisting with ossified prejudices, rejective stances, and persevering in the trenches of cold war is a danger for everybody.

The international situation urgently requires a change in the antiquated way of thinking, views, and stances, and that one act in harmony with reality.

Some officials in Western Europe occasionally bemoan the fact that Europe is divided, and pretend not to know why. As if they would not know that the Western members of the anti-Hitlerite coalition chucked away the agreements arising from the "Big Three's" Potsdam conference and decided not to demilitarize the western part of Germany but, on the contrary, to rearm it, to remilitarize it. And thus, in 1949, the North Atlantic Pact came into being, aimed against the socialist countries, joined subsequently also by the FRG. Only 6 years later, when there was no doubt about NATO's aggressive orientation and all diplomatic possibilities were exhausted, the Warsaw Pact was established as a collective defensive alliance. It is open to any other state, a matter that clearly indicates that we do not regard the division on the continent to be permanent. By the way, the willingness of the socialist countries to disband the Warsaw Pact, if NATO will be simultaneously disbanded, continues.

The issue of peace is supraordinated to all issues. It requires an active cooperation. Therefore developing an intensive political dialogue is ever more important.

Peace or war. Cooperation or confrontation. There is no third possibility. And this equally applies to all spheres of international relations. And for all European and other countries. After all, the fate of Europe is indivisible.

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CSO: 2400/114



POLITICS

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

RUDE PRAVO ON 1988 OLYMPICS LOCATION

AU052051 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 20 Nov 85 p 8

[Karel Bures article in the "Focused on Abroad" column: "After the Hanoi Conference"]

[Text] The communique which was issued last week in Hanoi at the conclusion of the conference of representatives of the socialist countries' physical education and sports organizations expresses support for the DPRK proposal to hold the 1988 Summer Olympic Games in Pyongyang and in Seoul, also with the participation of a joint Korean team. This support is an expression of the attitude taken by the Olympic movement in the socialist countries toward the 1981 decision of the International Olympic Committee [IOC] to assign the 1988 games to South Korea's Seoul.

The Hanoi conference was immediately preceded by a session of the chairmen of Olympic committees in the DPRK and in the southern part of Korea, held in the IOC's headquarters in Lausanne. The meeting ended without reaching any result. Kin Yun-sun [all names as published], chairman of the DPRK's committee, proceeded during the negotiations from the historic reality of a single Korea, forcibly divided by the American military occupation of the southern part of the peninsula since 1953. The efforts of the DPRK government to achieve a reunification of the country as corresponds to the interests and wishes of the people in both parts go back to those times. The DPRK's Olympic Committee is appealing to the IOC's peace-creating goals. The organization of the Olympic Games in both parts of Korea would aid both the endeavors for its unification, and the fraternal meetings of the people of a single nation and the consolidation of peace in the area of the Far East.

The representatives of the Seoul organizational Olympic Committee are rejecting the DPRK's demand. Committee Chairman Kin Chong-ha declared in Lausanne that his committee agrees to some form of a joint team at most; but that it absolutely rejects the DPRK Olympic Committee proposal to carry out certain contrasts of the Olympic Games 1988 in Pyongyang, the DPRK capital.

The Seoul organizational committee is working precisely according to the Los Angeles model, and in close cooperation with the U.S. commercial-industrial concerns. The 1988 games are again to become a monumental enterprise of private capital--the only difference being that here the American capital is



making use of the economic base of a foreign country, the government of which is fully subordinated to U.S. hegemony endeavors. American firms and American television companies have already invested hundreds of millions of dollars in preparation for the Olympic Games in Seoul. They want to get the money back, with a profit. They fear that the transfer of a part of the games to the North would considerably increase their investment expenditures. The businessmen in the Seoul organizational committee see that an appropriate sum from the television royalties (\$500-700 million) would go to the DPRK's Olympic Committee. For the most part, industry in South Korea is in the hands of the American monopolies, and its territory is being used for building and expanding U.S. naval and land military bases which are targeted against the Soviet Union. That is why the United States is not interested in opening the unnatural border on the 38th Parallel.

In this situation, a weighty and responsible role is played by the IOC. The fact is that the stipulations of the IOC Charter do not prevent the organization of Olympic Games in several countries in the same period. In 1956 the main part of the games was held in Melbourne, but the riding contests were held in Stockholm. As regards the monetary issue, the IOC would lose nothing. Should the games take place both in Seoul and in Pyongyang, one-third of the television fees would be pocketed by the IOC in any case.

In the meantime, the IOC management has set up a special commission; its members are J. A. Samaranch, IOC chairman; J. Siperco (Romania); W. Beitz (FRG); Shaykh Fahad (Kuwait); and Gafner, the IOC's Swiss secretary. The commission will again discuss the stage of the Olympic Games 1988, and it will submit a report to the Executive Committee--or else, according to the further development of the situation, also to the IOC plenum.

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POLITICS

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

HUSAK, CEAUSESCU OPEN BUCHAREST TALKS

LD111651 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 1600 GMT 11 Dec 85

[Text] Gustav Husak, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, president of the republic, who is on a friendly working visit in Romania, met in Bucharest today with President Nicolae Ceausescu, secretary general of the Romanian Communist Party.

Nicolae Ceausescu presented Gustav Husak with the highest Romanian honor, the Order of the Star of the Romanian Socialist Republic, First Degree with Ribbon, which was awarded to him for his contributions to deepening friendship and cooperation between the CPCZ and the RCP, between Czechoslovakia and Romania, and for his self-less work in the international communist and workers' movement. When awarding the highest Romanian state award, Nicolae Ceausescu praised the many years of selfless work by Gustav Husak in building socialism in Czechoslovakia, in the international communist workers' movement, and his contributions to deepening friendly relations and cooperation between the CPCZ and the RCP and the people of both countries.

Gustav Husak expressed thanks for the award of the high state honor and he emphasized the importance of all-round cooperation and alliance of both parties and states.

Talks began today in Bucharest between Gustav Husak and Nicolae Ceausescu. The highest party and state representatives of both countries will report on the preparations for the 17th CPCZ Congress and on the fulfillment of the conclusions of the 13th RCP Congress, and they will discuss questions concerning further cooperation between their partners and countries. They will also exchange views on current international problems.

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POLITICS

PRAGUE TV CARRIES PHONE-IN WITH SOVIET COMMENTATORS

052138 [Editorial Report] Prague Television Service in Czech and Slovak at 1900 GMT on 4 December 1985 carries the 45-minute "Open Platform" live phone-in program on questions of Soviet domestic and foreign policy. The unidentified presenter introduces the guests as "prominent Soviet political commentators and publicists" Professor Arnold Arnoldov, Doctor of Philosophical Sciences at the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Philosophy, IZVESTIYA political commentator Stanislav Kondrashev and Soviet television political commentator Lev Voznesenskiy.

Viewers are invited to telephone their questions, which are then read by the presenter in Czech. Each question is followed by a slight pause, evidently while the question is translated into Russian. The nominated guest then answers in Russian superimposed with a Czech translation.

A number of questions, all of which are put to Stanislav Kondrashev, concern the Geneva summit meeting. Viewers ask why no agreement was reached in Geneva. Kondrashev says that no miracles occurred, the questions were very carefully discussed both at the summit and at previous meetings of advisors and foreign ministers. The positions of both sides were very varied and the Soviet side says that the main obstacle to agreement was the American space weapons program. He says, however, that it must be pointed out that there were positive developments such as the opening of dialogue between the two sides at all levels, and the fact that both sides states that nuclear war is unacceptable and that neither side is striving for military supremacy over the other. Concerning prevention of the militarization of space and the limitation of strategic arms, he says, the basic results of Geneva will become clear only in the future.

Asked if it is true that the Soviet Union has come to terms with the American "Star Wars" program, as has been suggested in the West, and what would the Soviet Union do if the "Star Wars" program is implemented, Kondrashev replies that it is completely incorrect that the Soviet Union has come to terms with "Star Wars." The arms race cannot be ended if it spreads into space. Rather, it will escalate. Strategically the very attempt to create such a shield in space would fracture the strategic balance and the result would be the spending of millions of rubles and dollars, he concludes.

Kondrashev is also asked about his personal impressions of the interview given to Soviet journalists by Ronald Reagan, which he attended. He replies as follows:

"Well, you see, it's like this. Naturally the interview with the President of the United States is, so to speak, for a journalist a fairly unusual experience, from both a professional and psychological viewpoint, and from that of journalistic work. I myself for many years now have been interested in the United States; I was a correspondent in New York and in Washington--I lived there for 10 or 11 years. Naturally, I also to a certain extent followed events from Moscow as well, and naturally when I was in the United States, as soon as Reagan became president, I began observing how he works, how he comes over in this sense. As a person who is professionally trained, I can say that we did not find anything new in this area. There were no new discoveries.

"When we arrived, the interview lasted 42 minutes. What was immediately striking? A certain theatrical quality, naturally of the whole thing. Basically this is quite common for America and its political phenomena, when everything is presented, well, so to speak, in a certain theatrical spirit. Second, if we are to consider the purely outward impression, the president does not look bad for his age of course. Third, it is natural that during the 42 minutes his views emerged fully, which are very conservative and of course very antisocialist and anticommunist. And finally, naturally there is also this impression, and that is, that the president got into certain contradictions with his own standpoints. Well, for example, precisely on the question of space, and on the question of his beloved Strategic Defense Initiative, he said to us--and he repeated this many times--he said that these space weapons will be produced after the nuclear attack weapons are liquidated. He repeated this several times. But after the interview was published in the American press, and not just in the American press, it was pointed out that the U.S. position in fact lies in the parallel development of nuclear attack weapons and so-called space defense weapons.

"Well, eventually it was as though they exposed the president and he himself in the end gave up the position which he declared to us in the interview. He stepped back from it. Naturally we were left with the impression, an impression, how could I put it, of a man who does not always know, and does not always think out his own political position in advance and does not always announce it completely precisely. But anyway this is not a completely new impression because this trait was noticed by journalists quite some time ago. Well, those are briefly my impressions."

Lev Voznesenskiy is asked two questions. The first concerns the recent formation of the Agricultural-Industrial Committee, Gosagroprom, and why it is necessary. He replies that the committee has replaced several ministries because it was found that they were too far removed from the actual farms and were only concerned with fulfilling their own tasks, which often led to failure to secure the overall result of the harvest, storage and so on. He illustrates this with a specific example of a broken down harvester and the difficulty of obtaining a spare part. Since the agricultural industry provides about 28 percent of the national income some changes had to be made. After extensive investigation it was decided that local management was not powerful enough to take this responsibility so a new body was set up which covers the whole area and will not lose sight of the overall goal of the sector.



The second question concerns the Soviet Union's contacts with capitalist countries. Voznesenskiy points out that foreign trade relations with capitalist countries reflect the state of international relations. The Soviet side itself is willing and ready to trade with all who treat it with understanding, but during the period of embargoes on certain products when the United States prevented its allies also from trading, nothing could be done by the Soviet side other than to buy from other countries or produce the goods itself. Trade with the United States is in fifth place after the FRG, Finland, Italy and France, he says, but the greatest emphasis in trade relations is placed on relations with CEMA. Mutual contacts between USSR and CSSR, for example, are almost twice as much as the turnover with the largest foreign Western partner, and four times greater than with the United States, he points out.

Professor Arnoldov is mainly asked questions on ideology and in particular about the new edition of the CPSU program, why it is necessary and what its most important points are. He replies at length, stating that the new edition is necessary because life develops, new conditions are created and the party moves with the times. A great deal of work was done on drafting the new edition which is enriched by historical successes and gains of socialism and human progress. It encompasses the concept of speeding up advances and reflects the qualitatively new state of Soviet society, stressing the human factor of humanistic character of the program which also includes the new phenomenon of mass-movements for peace, Arnoldov says. He continues by saying that it puts great emphasis on Lenin's concept of active culture which is aimed at the harmonic development of man in socialist society in order to create socialist man who must be an intelligent man and demandingly moral man. The party therefore encourages discussion to develop the human factor and development of personality.

Finally, all three guests are asked about their own personal impressions and attitudes to Czechoslovakia. They all express their warm feelings toward the country. Arnoldov describes it as a great soloist in the beautiful symphonic orchestra of the world's socialist community.

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CSO: 2400/114



POLITICS

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

**PRAGUE ARCHBISHOP PROTESTS RELIGIOUS POLICY**

LD200024 Vatican City International Service in Czech 1830 GMT 19 Dec 85

[Letter from Prague Archbishop Cardinal Frantisek Tomas to World Marxist Review Editorial Office in Prague, sent 2 December]

[Text] Esteemed editorial office.

Your journal carried in the ninth issue of WORLD MARXIST REVIEW the article by Vasil Bajda entitled "Where Is the Vatican Going." I, as the highest representative of the Catholic Church in Czechoslovakia, cannot remain silent with regard to some of its passages.

I leave aside the author's analysis of the personality of the Holy Father John Paul II. His greatness as a person and his enormous positive influence on the creation of moral and social profiles of the world is so highly esteemed by the whole cultural world that it cannot be effected by a writing by the author of this article. I also leave aside the author's analysis of changes in the court and its political significance as--unlike Mr Bajda--I do not feel I am competent to judge the matter. Neither do I intend to discuss the issue of the political nature of religion, even if the author proceeds from the utterly incorrect view that the church has no right to state its opinion on public issues. On the contrary it is its duty.

I also do not intend to deal here with the medieval--as Mr Bajda calls them--views on divorce, abortions and contraception. Mr Bajda probably has not noticed that the very latest medical research shows--and this is proven by pictorial and also auditory evidence--that an unborn child is a human being too, and that it tries to defend itself at a very early stage of development against the medical intervention which is to cause its death and evades the instruments. This means that in the light of and from the viewpoint of current medical science the church's stand is quite correct.

However, I have to protest vehemently against those passages of the article which say that imperialist forces are trying to make the Catholic Church in Czechoslovakia into some sort of potential center of antisocialist opposition. The aim of the church in our country is not political opposition but normal spreading of the gospel and pastoral work. It is not our fault that some politically orientated speeches on the part of the state administration were

wedged into the recent 1100th anniversary of the death of St Methodius at Velehrad, which was supposed to be a purely religious affair. Even before that, the state administration was trying in all possible ways to make this anniversary a political issue in the media. This aspect of the activity of the Cyril-Methodius mission ought in our opinion to have been discussed elsewhere and it is really a pity that, in contrast to many celebrations of this anniversary in other countries--this was not done in the same way in our country, too.

It is not this fact alone that convicts Mr Bejda of incorrectness in his claim that the Czechoslovak state does not interfere in church affairs and rigorously respects its internal principles and norms. It is well known that the state bodies interfere with our church affairs, even down to the tiniest detail, through the state surveillance over churches at government, ministerial, regional, district and national committee levels. This state surveillance reaches such absurd dimensions in our country that it even interferes with our personal, intimate religious life. This is shown by actions against believers, and in particular against young believers, for their private meetings at which they want to pray, sing religious songs and read the gospels. They are very often tried for an offense committed against paragraph 178 of the Criminal Code on interfering with the state surveillance over churches and religious societies. According to our Constitution of 1960 they are fully entitled to do so, because Article 32 says: Freedom of belief is guaranteed. Everybody can follow any or no religious faith and observe religious acts unless they contradict the law. If the article stated that freedom of cult is guaranteed, then such freedom would be limited to common religious acts only in the buildings designated for that cult, that is to churches and chapels. But as Article 32 of our constitution guarantees freedom of belief, it is not permissible to reduce it to a mere freedom of cult.

The government decree of 17 July 1954 abolished the registration of religious faith. In reality, however, the state administration carries out such registration very carefully and vigilantly from early childhood. Questionnaires which job applicants have to fill in do not ask which faith the applicant practices, but he usually has to describe how he looks on the religious question.

It is often checked very carefully whether an individual citizen attends religious services. The so-called party confidential agents and inspectors regularly answer such questions to party bodies. Many citizens who have been denounced for taking part in religious services complain that they have to leave their jobs, are not admitted to further education institutions or are even expelled from them.

The situation of the believers is typical also with regard to the press. Article 20 of our constitution says that all citizens have equal rights and duties. It means among other things that not only atheists but believers, too, have equal right to the printed word. But in reality? There is a lot of atheist literature in bookstores but at present not a single religious book can be bought. Why? The central religious publishing house is obviously limited in some way with regard to consent for printing religious books. When

something is allowed the number of copies is so low that the book is very quickly out of print.

Our believers are not indifferent to the fact that in our country 10 dioceses have been waiting for the appointment of bishops for many years, up to 1985. The Holy Father is constantly ready to fill all dioceses in Czechoslovakia, too, so the obstacle is somewhere else.

Despite it all, in spite of the fact that our believers who form a great majority of our citizens are still not fully satisfied in their fully justified religious demands they are trying to fulfill selflessly and responsibly their role of citizens in our national community.

And it is important for you, too, that our believers, together with the other believers of all continents of the world, with their priests, bishops and the supreme head of the church, the Holy Father John Paul II, make a great contribution to the maintenance of mutual understanding and peace in the world by their work toward consistent observance of justice and basic human rights.

The Papal Commission "Justice and Peace" works intensively in this spirit in Rome. Yes, the arms race will stop only when in all states of the world justice and basic human rights are strictly observed because then there will be no cause for defense and aggressive plans will cease to exist.

Therefore the constant writing about peace and calling for disarmament and peace will be not only believable but also effective only when in all states of the world disarmament and peace are not only proclaimed diligently and persistently but when justice and respect for basic human rights are firmly observed, equally for every citizen.

With greetings,

[Signed] Cardinal Frantisek Tomasek, Archbishop of Prague

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CSO: 2400/114

POLITICS

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

SENTENCING OF JUVENILE FOR MURDER, OTHER CRIMES EXPLAINED

LD172049 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 1600 GMT 17 Dec 85

[Text] Jiri S, a youth against whom charges have been brought, was today sentenced by the Prague City Court for committing three crimes of murder, two attempted murders, and crimes of rape, burglary, and theft.

The charges related to a total of eleven attacks committed between 15 March and 16 May of this year in Prague. They consisted, for the most part, of attacks on women walking alone after dark. His aggression against his victims was partly a way of stealing their property and partly sexually motivated. The court sentenced him unconditionally to 10 years' deprivation of liberty and to preventive psychiatric and sexological treatment in an institution.

The evidence is clear: There is the confession of the youth, whose statement is consistent with a whole set of other evidence, with investigation at the sites where the attacks took place and with the way the attacks were carried out, and with the testimony of witnesses and victims. The evidence is supported by biological and forensic tests.

The police found at his residence a whole series of items which were the property of the different women.

The commission of such an extraordinarily dangerous crime to society by a youth is, in Czechoslovak legal practice, quite exceptional and rare. The youth is a psychopath. If a youth commits a crime for which the law enables the death sentence to be imposed, the court is entitled to impose a sentence of deprivation of liberty for 5-10 years; the law does not allow a more severe sentence to be imposed on a juvenile, no matter how exceptional the circumstances.

The purpose of applying the criminal law is, among other things, to protect society from criminals and to prevent them from committing further crimes. To this end, the law also employs preventive measures, in addition to sentences; this is one of the effective ways of protecting the interests of society as a whole. The sentence itself need not necessarily suppress the youth's inclination to deviancy. Therefore the youth, in addition to being sentenced to deprivation of liberty, was committed for preventive psychiatric and sexological treatment, which will ensure fully that society is protected.



He will be committed for treatment after the sentence of deprivation of liberty has been completed. This treatment will be carried out in a closed psychiatric institution. The preventive treatment will be continued for as long as the purpose of the treatment requires it. Without a court order, a criminal cannot be let out of a psychiatric institution. This means, therefore, that a criminal of this kind cannot be let out of the institution until such time as he ceases to be a danger to society.

The sentence has not yet been declared legally valid.

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C50: 2400/114

POLITICS

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

STROUGAL PRESENTS AWARDS TO ACROBATS, SPEAKS

LD221255 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1530 GMT 11 Dec 83

[Text] Lubomir Strougal, federal premier, handed over high state awards to Czechoslovak air acrobats who scored outstanding successes in the fifth world championship in air acrobatics [words indistinct] in the Hrzan Palace in Prague today.

The president of the republic conferred the Order of Labor to the world and Europe champion, meritorious sport champion (Petr Jermus) and the award for outstanding work to meritorious sport champion (Pavel Civa) and to meritorious sport champion (Jiri Sauer).

In a short speech, the federal premier expressed the conviction that the awarded sportsmen also in the future would continue in the excellent traditions of Czechoslovak air acrobats and wished them all the best in this.

Present at the gala ceremony were Jindrich Polednik, CPCZ Central Committee secretary; Thomas Travnicek, deputy chairman of the national front of the CSER; Matej Lucan, deputy federal premier; Lieutenant General Vaclav Horacek, chairman of the Central Committee of Czechoslovak Union for Cooperation with the Army and other personages.

/9274

CSO: 2400/114

POLITICS

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

DAILY ON TRIAL OF CURRENCY, SILVER SPECULATORS

AU062116 [Editorial Report] Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak on 27 November 1985 carries on page 4 an approximately 4,300-word Jan Kral article, entitled "A Court Case: ...To Be the Richest in the State"; it deals with "the most extensive and most sophisticated 'felony' in the entire postwar period in Czechoslovakia," perpetrated by "members of an organized group." According to Kral, the group was headed by Jozef Zelik, Jr, "kin of the Mafia," who engaged in punishable activities until 4 November 1982, "when he left the CSSR territory and since that time has been staying abroad without the permission of our authorities." Kral describes the felonies perpetrated by Zelik: foreign currency speculations; speculations with silver; foreign currency trading; as well as trading with such luxury goods as fur coats and jewelry; the reinvestment of his ill-gotten gains in further speculations; and his final "earnings" of Kcs 14,646,304 during the period 1976-82 which, "according to the conclusions of the court, surpassed the limits set for considerable gains 700 times over." Kral then notes that Zelik's accomplices helped him acquire foreign currency or bought it from him, and helped him acquire silver, temporarily stored it for him; transferred it to CSSR territory; trade it for transfer to Austria; transferred it to Austria; and sold it for him abroad. The Kral lists the accomplices: Jozef Antalik, ZDRQJ manager in Bratislava, Malinovsky Street; Ferdinand Kocian, electric fitter in the Mills and Bakeries enterprise in Bratislava; Jozef Zelik, Sr, from Podhorie, in the Povazska Bystrica District; Jozeg Petrek from Hladovka in the Orava District, (whose net profit amounted to at least Kcs 564,620); his wife Alojzia; his brother-in-law Augustin Kubica, and the latter's daughter Olga Kubicova; In Bratislava Mikoczi, football trainer in Vienna; Pavol Sevcik from Senica and his friend Karol Palenik; Karol Bartalsky, technician in the Bratislava City Telecommunications Administration; Cyril Majko, tractor driver of the unified cooperative farm in Nizna, Orava; Maria Targosova from Krasno and Kysucou; Karol Slavkovsky and Dusan Dvorin, who travelled abroad with their music bands; Matej Oravec from the Administration of Property and Foreign Currency Affairs with All-Slovak Operations; Cecilia Zelikova, [name indistinct] Zelik, Jr; Ivan Polak; Peter Hovad, member of factory guard in the State Mint in Kremnica, and his brother Marian, iron founder in the [word indistinct]; and Jozef Held from Kremnica.

Kral states that the group's "extremely extensive and serious punishable activities" are condemned by all the CSSR public, since they "grossly violated both the implementation of the merit principle, and the socio-economic relations, and in several instances also the activities of the state apparatus.

"The group," Kral states, "sharply attacked the socialist ownership, the state's foreign currency monopoly, and customs regulations. The offences of the group members were characterized by considerable inventiveness and a high degree of organization and variability. Each culprit had a precisely defined place in the gang. Their motivation was the longing for profit without work." Kral then notes that most of the "gang members" enjoyed good reputations and that Zelik Senior had held public positions, used to be deputy of the Local National Committee for several terms, and was also a member of the Slovak Communist Party's Village Organization.

The sentences quoted by Kral range from 18 months for Jozef Polak to 15 years for Jozef Zelik, Jr; Zelik, Jr, his wife, and 3 other people were sentenced to loss of all property, the others to money fines from 8,000 to 30,000 Kcs; and cars used for perpetrating the offences were confiscated by the state.

After the trial, Kral interviewed Stanislav Kvapil, doctor of law and senior prosecutor in the Slovak Prosecutor General's Office, who attributes the extent of the group's activities to the indifference of the surrounding people, to the lack of citizens' legal awareness and sense of responsibility, and to their unwillingness to get involved. Kvapil scored the benevolent attitudes of the staff of organizations where the culprits were employed, and of the staff of national committees in the places where they lived. He states that the state, economic, social, and criminal investigation agencies are incapable of preventing antisocial activities without the active assistance of the citizens and that the lack of civil activity slows down the uncovering of illegal activities of individuals and groups of people who are counting on the indifference of their environments. Kvapil concludes the interview by saying that the extensive antisocial activity of the Zelik group affirms that "people are still living among us who are prepared to enrich themselves in every circumstance, if only they have opportunity for this. However, the punishment of the culprits does not close their responsibility. Apart from their punishment, the culprits must also count on a consistent removal of their unjustified property benefits acquired by criminal means. The lesson in this is that we all must jointly multiply our forces and bar the path of any and all kinds of violations of the principles of morality, discipline, and legality, and also regardless of who the violator is."

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CSO: 2400/114



POLITICS

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

DAILY ON ALBANIA'S INCREASING 'REALISM'

AU051755 Prague MLADA FRONTA in Czech 29 Nov 85 p 5

["(VOD)"-signed commentary in the "We Recall" column: "Albania Is Celebrating Its State Holiday"]

[Text] On 29 November 1944, 42 years ago, the Albanian National Liberation Army completed the liberation of its country. Albania recalls this date every year and celebrates it as its state holiday.

The close cooperation which Albania then established with the Soviet Union and with the countries building socialism was soon strikingly manifested in the economy of the young republic and its position in the international arena. During a relatively brief period Albania, which started practically from scratch, achieved considerable successes in the socioeconomic development. At the beginning of 1961, the economic base of socialism had been built in the country, and a firm foundation established for the further industrialization of the economy.

Of course, it was precisely in that period, after a phase of rapid successes, that Albania sharply changed its orientation; and the countries that had offered it their helping hand in the postwar times became the target of its harsh attacks. It was only at the beginning of the eighties that Albania stressed that it would fulfill its economic plans solely "by making use of its own strength, without foreign material aid and loans." However, in the recent period realistic tendencies have increasingly begun to assert themselves, because isolationism has caused the Albanian economic base to lag very considerably. Assistance can again be offered by the socialist countries. As yesterday's Soviet PRAVDA wrote, the USSR proceeds from the basic line that is aimed at improving relations with all socialist states; and it consistently strove in the past, and is striving today, to overcome the difficulties which emerged at the beginning of the sixties.

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CSO: 2400/114

POLITICS

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

BRIEFS

JOINT USSR GAS PROJECTS—Vlastimil Ehrenberger, fuel and power federal minister and senior officials from the gas industry, informed journalists today about Czechoslovak participation in the construction of the Progress gas pipeline and the gas treating complex Karachaganak in USSR. An agreement was signed in Moscow 2 days ago according to which we shall build 580 km of gas pipeline, 8 compression stations, aggregates driven by electric power and gas-chemical complex 350 km from Orenburg which would contain also a panel production plant, cement factory, flats and so on, all in all for R220 million in the next 5-year plan. At one point, around 12 thousand Czechoslovak people will be working in the USSR and all this in order for us to gain 5 billion cubic meters annually for 20 years. This will not be cheap but an economic analysis indicates that it is still cheaper than producing the same amount of energy by a new construction of nuclear power stations or opening new mines. However the cheapest form of energy is still the power which we can save. [Text] [Prague Television Service in Czech and Slovak 1830 GMT 18 Dec 85 LD] /9274

CSO: 2400/114

POLITICS

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

FRG WEEKLY ASSESSES POSSIBLE HONECKER VISIT

Hamburg DER SPIEGEL in German Vol 39 No 48, 25 Nov 85 pp 22, 25, 28

[Article: "From the Boiler"]

[Text] The head of government in Saarbruecken, Oskar Lafontaine, had some of his people rummage in local archives before he paid his visit to the SED chief. Then, when the Social Democrat unpacked a stack of old leaflets and reports of demonstrations in East Berlin week before last, native Saarlander Erich Honecker went into raptures over the old fighting days.

SPD Chairman Willy Brandt as well, at a meeting in East Berlin in September, was treated to readily narrated reminiscences by Honecker about his youth. For 11 and 1/2 years Brandt had not been able to bring himself to visit the SED man who had planted the spy Guenter Guillaume at government headquarters in Bonn. Now the former chancellor, 71, is quite taken by the chairman of the GDR Council of State, 73. Brandt: "He is the last all-German; those who come after him are GDR Germans."

Honecker, a miner's son from Neunkirchen, recently has been fond of using talks with Western politicians for excursions into his German past. He talks about Wiebelskirchen, the village near Neunkirchen, where he joined the communist Young Spartakus League in 1922. A roofer by trade and LPD member since 1929, he organized after 1933 the illegal operation of the German Communist Youth Federation (KJVD) in the Ruhr, Baden, Wuerttemberg, and Berlin. There the Gestapo apprehended him in 1935, and until 1945 he was imprisoned in the Brandenburg-Goerden Prison.

Honecker, Brandt told confidants, had been very pleased about an etching from 1850 he had been given as a present. The SED chief recognized the subject at once, saying, "But this is Neunkirchen." Then the two Germans, one of whom had been with the Socialist Workers Party at the time while the other was with the KPD, exchanged stories about their underground struggle against the Nazis.

And with Karl-Heinz Klaer, who heads Brandt's offices and is also a Saarlander, Honecker conversed in the local dialect, asking, "And where are you from?" "From Bildstock" was Klaer's reply. "From Bildstock," repeated Honecker, touched. That was only 5 kilometers from Wiebelskirchen.

Bavarian Premier Franz Josef Strauss, too, was told by Honecker about things past when they recently met on the fringe of the Leipzig Autumn Fair. To this day, said the SED man, he was grateful to the Catholic Church, which had fed his family--in straits because his father was an active leftist socialist--after World War I. One of his sisters, he said, was selflessly cared for by Catholic nuns.

With Lafontaine, Honecker talked at length about the Saar referendum of 13 January 1935 which brought about the merger of the region with the Third Reich. The Social Democratic-Communist People's Front, one of the few left-wing alliances against Hitler, had failed. It was at that time that Honecker, side by side with Communist Herbert Wehner, lived through the last chapter of his political career on territory which is now part of the Federal Republic.

The East Berlin signals were well understood in Bonn. The SED general secretary, government and opposition conclude, is very much interested in a visit to the Federal Republic, particularly in seeing his homeland again. But the Christian Democrats have different ideas about how to take advantage of such a visit.

The SPD would like to present inter-German togetherness in striving for disarmament. As the opposition, the Social Democrats are trying to lend a new quality to relations with the Honecker regime. In June a committee of SPD Bundestag deputies agreed with the SED on the draft of a treaty for a chemical-weapon-free zone in Europe--at least for both German states and the CSSR. Talks began about a nuclear-weapon-free zone. Honecker had words of praise, saying: "That is the right way on which we must proceed further."

Chancellor Helmut Kohl, on the other hand, wants to take advantage of the sentimental interest of the chairman of the GDR Council of State in a visit to the Federal Republic in a different way. He hopes for applause from those voters who reproach the Christian-Liberal coalition for having done too little so far in behalf of detente and having chained itself too much to the policies of U.S. President Ronald Reagan. Kohl's comment on a possible Honecker visit: "What with our making great strides toward an election victory, that kind of thing would be all right."

To his advisers Kohl presented a homemade analysis, saying that the SED chief was so intent on an excursion to the West because he did not want to enter history only as the guard of (according to statistics of the Chancellery) about 4,500 political prisoners. For instance, according to Kohl, the atheist from East Berlin also plans to extend cordial thanks to the Catholic Church in the Saarland for what it had done for his family.

The mild nostalgic mood, the chancellor thinks, can only benefit the West German desires for human relief. Says Kohl: "What I consider to be realistic--I say so consciously--is an extension of the normal exchange of visitors."

Domestically, the chancellor is celebrating in advance "the wonderful success" it will mean if henceforth not only "pensioners" but women 55 or younger could travel to the Federal Republic. He says: "There would be more pressure coming from the boiler."



Women, Kohl said explaining his simple calculation to his staff, are better communicators. Men are interested primarily in bars, cars, soccer and "Dallas," whereas women tourists from the GDR go shopping, ask about the prices of washing machines or suits, talk with people, and then go back to East Germany again.

For such a provision, the chancellor said during internal discussions of the situation, he was prepared to "fork over something." In accordance with the motto "D-Mark for Humaneness," he was prepared to supply GDR plants with environment-saving technology and to make monetary contributions for the electrification of railroad routes between the two German states.

Such key GDR demands as Honecker listed in his speech in Gera in 1980 remain taboo: recognition of GDR citizenship, the exchange of ambassadors, a settlement concerning the disputed Elbe boundaries, and abolition of the Salzgitter headquarters for registering crimes committed in the GDR.

In conversation with West German visitors, Honecker recently made fun of Kohl's narrowed perspectives. Apparently, he said, the chancellor believes that the GDR leadership makes its freedom of action dependent entirely on Moscow's approval. Of course, said the SED chief, he is not "ingenuous" but plans his visits in accordance with the international situation, but, he said, "if anyone thinks that I have to ask someone when and where I may go, I can only laugh at him."

This East Berlin independence in dealing with the fellow German class enemy sometimes causes irritation in Moscow. After his visit to Honecker, Brandt was asked by the Soviet ambassador in East Berlin, Vyacheslav Kochemasov, whether the Gera demands of the GDR had been discussed. Brandt confused the Soviet man by giving the clear reply of "no."

A little later the new American ambassador in Bonn, Richard Burt, paid his respects to Brandt at Erich-Ollenhauer-Haus. The American reported that his U.S. colleague Francis J. Meehan in East Berlin had been asked by Kochemasov whether he knew what Honecker and Brandt had chatted about.

Just when the international situation following the Geneva summit will permit the SED chief to take a trip to the West continues to be the subject of fierce speculation. Some details are expected from SED Politburo member Werner Felde when he visits Chancellery Minister Wolfgang Schaeuble on Wednesday. Ewald Moldt, the GDR representative in the Federal capital, some weeks ago already obtained approval from Federal President Richard von Weizsaecker and Schaeuble for Honecker to be received both in the Villa Hammerschmidt and in Kohl's offices--for a working visit.

This is the way it is to remain. Under no circumstances is Honecker's trip to Bonn to look like an official state visit, because that would get the chancellor into trouble. Kohl would like to go to the GDR, particularly to Dresden and Leipzig, before the Bundestag elections. He would therefore accept a reciprocal invitation by Honecker. A formal state visit to East Berlin he would, however, have to reject because of the 4-power status of the divided city.

Therefore working visitor Honecker will find Bonn undecorated. According to a Kohl confidant, "without anthems and without flags."

POLITICS

POLAND

URBAN ON DETENTIONS, U.S. ANTI-POLISH PROPAGANDA, POLONIA FIRMS

AU271509 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 25 Nov 85 pp 4, 5

["Transcript" of Press Conference for Foreign Journalists Given by Government Spokesman Jerzy Urban at Interpress Center in Warsaw on 19 Nov]

[Excerpts] Urban: People who are being kept in detention or have been sentenced for noncriminal offences are continuing to be released in response to the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth's [PRON] appeal. As has already been announced, 75 people had been released by the end of last week. The prosecutor's office revoked temporary custody orders in 61 cases and the courts revoked 14 temporary study orders affecting people against whom charges had been brought. Twenty-one people were released in Warsaw, 12, in Gdansk voivodship, in Walbrzyg voivodship, and 5 in Radom voivodship. Four persons were released in each of the following voivodships: Gorzow, Bialystok, Kielce, and Poznan, Wroclaw and Elblag voivodships each released 2 persons and another 9 voivodships each released 1 person. Most of these people had undertaken actions intended to incite public disorder. Fifty-five people who had been detained on these grounds or on charges of distributing various kinds of illegal publications have been freed. Among those who have been released, there are also people accused of taking part in illegal assemblies. Illegal possession of arms, illegal possession of radio transmitters, and desecrating state symbols.

Of those released, 22 are members of the intelligentsia, of whom 5 are academics; 21 are manual workers; 14 are school students; 5 are students; 5 are tradesmen; 4 are retired; 3 are unemployed; and 1 is a farmer. In respect of 23 of those released, good conduct pledges were submitted by plant union organizations, workers' collectives, and plant managers. In respect of six school students, good conduct pledges were submitted by pedagogical councils, and in respect of another five persons pledges were submitted by PRON cells and other organizations or reliable persons, such as rectors or deans of higher schools.

The situation existing at the present time made it possible to release these people, and their release is an expression of the authorities good will, but legal proceedings will be continued as required by law. The difference being that the accused will remain at liberty. Guided by these conditions, prosecutors and courts will consider whether it is possible to waive proceedings

in certain cases. The conditional discontinuance of proceedings will be tied to a probation period not exceeding 2 years, after which it will no longer be possible to prosecute the persons concerned. For other categories of offences which make it impossible to waive proceedings in the same way, it might be possible to reduce sentences by introducing conditional suspended sentences. That is as much information as I have about the release of those in custody, more persons are being released this week, but I do not as yet have an information about the number.

I owe an answer to a question that was put to me at the last conference; it concerned employment by Polonia firms. I gave an answer to the question, but it was not a full one, so I shall now supplement it with certain other facts. At the end of June this year there were 660 Polonian firms operating in the whole country and employing 46,900 people. The limit to the number of persons Polonia firms can employ has been set at 77,477 by voivodship governors. There is, therefore, still significant room for an increase in the number of persons employed from the point of the system for regulating labor force distribution.

The Council of Ministers' directive concerning employment by foreign and mixed-capital enterprises operating as small-scale manufacturers, issued on 19 August 1985, obliges these firms to employ Polish citizens through employment and social affairs departments. That is to say, those departments which fill existing vacancies. The number of these vacancies is fixed by voivodship governors. This means, among other things, and this is stressed in the directive, that Polonia firms cannot hire employees who left their last place of work or were fired without notice through their own fault. This was decided in view of the fact that the hiring of employees contrary to these principles which operate in the state sector has contributed to the undermining of labor discipline in general and enabled people to leave employment unilaterally without giving notice to benefit from the high wages and privileges offered by Polonia firms.

Reports by Western correspondents in Warsaw stating that the Security Service entered a church in Wroclaw on 11 November and used tear gas have been appearing in the Western press. I was asked about these events at a previous press conference. I said that I knew nothing about these events and in fact I could not have known anything about these events, because they have been made up. That is to say, no one entered a church and there were no goings-on in any church. The Security Service did, on the other hand, detain three residents of Wroclaw: Antoni Lenkiewicz, Boghdan Giermek, a student at the Catholic University of Lublin, and Tadeusz Lenkiewicz.

What happened was the Security Service only intended to detain Antoni Lenkiewicz in connection with a talk he had given in a church, in order to warn him about certain aspects of the talk he had given, the references to Polish Soviet relations which the talk had contained for example. He was stopped outside the church by members of the Security Service who intended to caution him and when this happened he seized an officer by his suit and kicked him, and was then joined by his brother, Tadeusz Lenkiewicz, and Boghdan Giermek who rushed to help him. This resulted in damage being done to a car belonging

to Voivodship Office for Internal Affairs by the three: a door was broken and the windscreen smashed. And so a case against the Lenkiewicz brothers and Boghdan Giermek was directed to the Wroclaw-Krzyki Regional Court where it is being dealt with under accelerated proceedings. They appeared before court charged with preventing functionaries from performing their duties and with causing damage to the vehicle. Fourteen prosecution witnesses have testified and the trial has been postponed until 19 November to allow for 13 defense witnesses to be summoned to testify. All the defendants were examined by a doctor on the recommendation of the court: they were pronounced fit.

Emma Aiziptarte; EFE: Minister, will people who have refused to perform military service for reasons of conscience be able to benefit from this act of clemency? Will those who murdered Father Popieluszko and the three unionists, Lis, Michnik, and Frasyniuk be covered by it?

Urban: I do not know the legal position in respect of people who have committed offences under the statute on defense. Any persons guilty of murder will not be among those released. Persons who have already committed similar, previous crimes will not benefit from it, and nor will persons who have committed particularly dangerous social crimes, were sentenced in the past, or benefited from the 1984 amnesty or earlier acts of individual clemency. To put it simply, as far as the first category is concerned I cannot say, about the second and third I can say no.

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CSO: 2600/162



POLITICS

POLAND

MIODOWICZ ON OPZZ ACHIEVEMENTS, DIFFICULTIES

AU201322 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 18 Nov 85 p 2

[Interview given by Alfred Miodowicz, chairman of the National Trade Union Confederation, to Romana Kalecka: "The National Trade Union Confederation Is One Year Old"—date and place not given]

[Excerpts] [Kalecka] How do you view the first year of the confederation's performance?

[Miodowicz] There are two points to observe. For those who were elected in Bytom to the council and executive committee of the confederation, the past year has been a period of hard work to ensure that nothing be lost of the achievements of the first assembly and that people's expectations be not disappointed. We have also devoted much attention to organizational matters, including the status and legal position of the confederation and the takeover of the former trade unions' property, which we must administer with utmost thrift—a task that is difficult because the income of the national confederation is small and consists of voluntary contributions from regional confederations.

As for the masses of trade union members, the past year seems to have engendered in them a certain dissatisfaction and doubt regarding the ability of trade unions to defend working people's living standards. It is true that the flow of goods has been somewhat improved, but prices continue to go up, which is a disturbing process. All in all, progress made in the past year has not come to people's expectations.

[Kalecka] Which problems do you find difficult to solve?

[Miodowicz] Our main task—to defend the working people's present real wages—is beset by many difficulties, which is natural. We are still unable to enforce our demand that a social minimum of living standards be calculated and published so that we have a basic point of departure for a meaningful social policy. That is why we must evolve our own concept in this matter.

Quite frequently we have to oppose attempts to make small corrections to the system of social benefits. These corrections unnecessarily irritate people.

The model of this system calls for crucial changes and for a cohesive concept of social policy. The frequent changes in the proposals for socioeconomic changes [word indistinct] these proposals are submitted for our confederation's consideration--are also irritating.

[Kalecka] Perhaps this is also due to defective cooperation with the government. In recent times we have heard very little about government-trade union negotiations. Or do such negotiations take place behind closed doors?

[Miodowicz] The Council of Ministers Committee for Trade Union Affairs was a good place for cooperation at a time when we had various trade union streams, when our trade union movement was getting under way, and when the first trade union structures above enterprises began to be organized. Today our primary concern is negotiations about specific economic matters, but the thing is that now we have few contacts in this regard. If we had as much as contacts behind closed doors, we would be able to at least discuss various matters. However, the contacts we have are mostly formal contacts. Of the several government-trade union teams set up some 6 months ago, only one continues to function as far as possible normally--the one dealing with the money-market balance.

I cannot imagine that future contacts between the two partners would be limited to contacts at the branch and departmental levels. After all, our trade unionism has the guaranteed right to voice its views on many issues of crucial importance for working people. That is why we must have a central platform for exchanges of views. This platform should be represented by periodical meetings between the Government Presidium and the Executive Committee Presidium of the National Trade Union Confederation. The first such meeting should discuss the price policy in 1986 in line, of course, with the central annual plan. Another urgent topic is the extension of working time in some plants. It was not difficult to comprehend why this extension was put into effect for 3 years, until the end of 1985, but now we must know the reasons and arguments why this special regulation should be prolonged. This issue should be decided by plants themselves if they need longer working time and if they are able to ensure that workers can work longer times should the work forces finally agree to this.

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POLITICS

POLAND

# SIWAK EXPLAINS COMPLAINTS, GRIEVANCES PROCEDURE

LD141104 Bydgoszcz Domestic Service in Polish 1605 GMT 13 Nov 85

[Excerpts] Torun: The town of Copernicus was visited today by Politburo member Albin Siwak. Letters arriving from all over Poland at the Commission for Complaints and Proposals of the PZPR Central Committee no doubt constitute a rich archive [word indistinct] about the community's problems. What sort of problems predominate? I am talking now to Albin Siwak, chairman of the Central Committee's Commission for Complaints and Proposals:

[Begin recording] [Siwak] If we take as our basis the [word indistinct], then in all the submissions, letters, and complaints then the first place--namely 40 percent of cases--is taken by matters of housing. These are the greatest proportion of issues to settle. Second place is taken by the Polish countryside; this concerns (?many) problems, for example building materials, building licenses, land accumulation, machinery allocations, plus of course various human and neighborly issues. Third place--this has happened over the past months--concerns the question of pensions and annuities. I must say this is altogether a very difficult subject and at the same time a tragic one for thousands of old age and other pensioners, of course I mean those from the old portfolio. That's the third group. The fourth group: Inter-personnel relations in the enterprises.

[Unidentified Reporter] From experience I know that people turn to the Central Committee as a last resort, when they cannot gain satisfaction at municipal or voivodship level.

[Answer] No, I do not agree. It is not always the case that they turn to us as a last resort, although (?that is how) people begin their case. Why do I not agree? Because a considerable percentage of cases miss out the place where the problem arose. They miss out the municipal committee, the parish-municipal committee, the voivodship committee, the voivodship office--in other words, the place to which the issue will in any case return, but it will only return there under our supervision. I wish to say that a considerable percentage of cases should be settled precisely on the spot, yet they are not. People come, as you say, as if in the last resort.

[Question indistinct]

[Answer] Yes, I think we do it effectively. Let me tell you that since the ninth congress we have accepted more than 3.5 million cases, so one could say that 10 percent of the Polish population complained, wrote in, requested intervention: and that our commission is the largest in the Central Committee—it has over 20,000 members in the field.

[Question] And how many of the cases mentioned [words indistinct] how many had the theoretical possibility of being solved on municipal or voivodship level?

[Answer] I would say, the overwhelming majority, 80-85 percent, there, on the spot. [end recording]

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POLITICS

POLAND

**PARTY ORGAN COMMENTS ON WASTE IN TARNOW**

AU211117 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 18 Nov 85 pp 1, 2

[Jolanta Zajac: "Concealing the Real Level of Incomes, Waste During Procurement"]

[Text] The Tarnow Worker-Peasant Inspectorate has already carried out 49 checks into state and cooperative units involving the functioning of agricultural circle cooperatives, the correct distribution of housing, and coal supplies to rural areas. The honest documentation of transportation services and work progress in the construction of education premises were also checked.

The checks revealed much neglect and many irregularities, lack of concern for property, mismanagement, and a failure to observe the elementary principles of social justice.

An example of this was the way in which children were qualified in order to enter kindergarten. It was noted that employees in the private sector generally conceal the true level of their net incomes. For example, the proprietors of a clothing shop declared that they were earning Z13,000 per month, and a watchmaker said he was "earning" Z6,500 per month. The Supreme Chamber of Control [NIK] is to look into these affairs.

Checks into six Regional Horticultural-Agricultural Cooperatives brought alarming results. A failure to use existing very strong reserves during the processing of plums and restricting plum procurement to only one variety thereof were general practices which the inspectors encountered.

In Ujacie Solne a lack of roofing in the places where crates are stored resulted in over 1,000 wooden crates being ruined. It was the same in Zakliczyn. Glaring neglect was noted in Wadowice Górne, where toward the end of the growing season one procurement point was completely unprepared for procurement--apples were put into sacks instead of crates, and carrots and other vegetables were given no protection against precipitation.

Twenty-four disciplinary proceedings were ordered, and 16 persons have been punished so far.

The professional assistance for the work of the Worker-Peasant Inspectorate given by control, inspection, and auditing bodies deserves mention, said Jan Papciak, deputy director of the NIK team for dealing with the affairs of the Worker-Peasant Inspectorate. The only trouble concerns cooperation with the State Trade inspectorate, which refused to cooperate in the checking of agricultural produce procurement points, saying that "this is beyond their scope."

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POLITICS

POLAND

# DAILY VIEWS TEACHING OF RECENT POLISH HISTORY

AU221405 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 19 Nov 85 p 3

[Article by Ewa Klosiewicz: "Everything Is Fine (?)"]

[Excerpts] Almost 3 and 1/2 years have passed since the Ninth Central Committee Plenum devoted to youth affairs. Therefore it is worth examining the implementation of this plenum's resolution, which defined tasks for the party and state institutions involving the creation of suitable conditions for young people to become more energetic, display initiative, and solve their own problems as well as general social ones.

The Ninth Plenum resolution contained a general statement whereby it is an urgent task to fill the gaps and eliminate the generalizations in the teaching of Poland's latest history. This statement is clarified by the Historical Education Program that was adopted by the PZPR Politburo last year and whose realization is controlled by a special Central Committee team.

This program contains a recommendation to urgently check the historical awareness of young people and points to the need to introduce lectures on the most recent history to those higher education courses that do not include history, as well as the need to review history teachers in all types of higher schools and analyze the performance of history education programs. These are tasks that have been addressed directly to the Ministry of Science and Higher Education, whose representatives are taking part in the work of the abovementioned Central Committee team.

My talks in the ministry have revealed that the ministry is actively participating in the implementation of the History Education Program, and once one may say that work on implementing it has intensified.

However, as long as some colleges still lack suitable staff, it is difficult to say that one of the ministry's undertakings, the introduction of a 30-hour course on the latest Polish history during the seventh semester of non-history courses, is proceeding everywhere. This 30-hour course has been obligatory since the beginning of the present academic year, obligatory in the sense that it requires not only listening to, but also marks, at least in those places where it has already been introduced.

Right now this education program is being subjected to detailed analysis. However, difficulties with its implementation are based not only on a shortage of specialists. The program is sometimes withheld because students in this semester are already burdened with other subjects. The analysis of curricula is also being conducted from this angle.

There is also a shortage of textbooks. Publications on the most recent Polish history tend to be monographs scattered around various periodicals. The collections of documents issued by the Central Methodological Institute and explaining the so-called white blotches in our most recent history or the seminars, conferences, and other meetings organized by the ministry and dealing with the method of teaching the latest history in schools will not take the place of an academic textbook which deal with the subject concisely. And nothing indicates that such a textbook will emerge in the nearest future, for potential authors prefer to escape to more distant history.

This they do for two reasons. First, contrary to what it seems, the closer the times, the more difficult is the access to historical sources; and second, the author does not always have the courage to tackle a subject that is regarded as sensitive.

The ministry has also begun work on a concept of pilot studies into the historical education and awareness of students. In October there was a conference which discussed the method of this research. Its materials are being published.

The Institute of Youth Problems is also researching the historical awareness of young people. Its report will be presented in December 1986.

Despite the fact that everything is proceeding so well, certain thoughts nevertheless force themselves out into the open.

The first one is that without denying the need to conduct thorough research, even without this research it is generally known what part of the historical awareness of young people has been distorted through the activity of the ideological opponent.

One does not need to be either a historian or a sociologist to indicate the claims that the Polish socialist revolution did not originate in Poland, the false picture of Polish-Soviet relations, the myths about the Second Republic [between the wars], the biased presentation of Polish culture as one stemming solely from the Latin and Mediterranean cultures, and the sole expounding of failures in the history of People's Poland while glossing over the undeniable great achievements.

Young people begin their studies with the historical awareness they gained at home and school. This is obvious. It is also obvious that only some of them have history in their curricula, but does that mean there is no need for some extracurricular activity involving younger students in particular so that our future intelligentsia may possess an imagination which matches the historical truth and not the distorted one?!



Whom should this depend on if not the ministry of higher education, which is an educational body?! This also concerns party organizations inside colleges. I do not know how many college party committees have applied themselves to the history education of young people, but this is no doubt a question that ought to be asked here, and loudly too.

Because although in a formal sense everything is proceeding, in fact we are progressing very slowly.

And another thought connected with speed. As far back as July 1982, the Ninth Central Committee Plenum wrote in its resolution that it is urgent to fill the gaps and eliminate the generalizations in the teaching of our latest history.

Was it really necessary to wait 2 years for another document to show to whom this urgent task is addressed?! All these tasks and analyses could have been completed over the past 3 years.

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POLITICS

POLAND

PZPR CONTROL COMMITTEE PLENUM HELD

LD270944 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1830 GMT 23 Nov 85

[No video available]

[Text] A plenum of the Central Party Control Commission [CKKP] of the PZPR has been held, with the participation of the chairmen of the voivodship control commissions. The debates were chaired by Jerzy Urbanski. It was said that the party control commissions recently have with ever great consistency and firmness been reacting in the form of appropriate sanctions to cases, caused by party members, of waste, extravagance, negligent attitude towards public property, or neglect of professional obligations.

In this context, the deepening cooperation between the control commission and the worker-peasant inspectorate [IRCH] is of special significance. In accordance with the recommendation by the CKKP, all the voivodship party control commissions have already undertaken measures which aim to actively support the work of the IRCH. The party control commissions, adopting an attitude toward persons guilty of irregularities revealed during this check-up, have instituted severe party sanctions. As a result of the more than 100 party proceedings already completed by the voivodship party control commissions, 3 persons have been expelled from the PZPR, 25 have been punished, while warning talks have been held with 81 PZPR members. Moreover, the party control commissions have submitted requests to the relevant party echelons concerning the withdrawal from 17 persons of party recommendations to leading posts. Attention was drawn to the obligation to adopt a firmer attitude towards those party members who continue to manifest a soulless [pol bezduszny], bureaucratic attitude towards citizen's complaints.

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POLITICS

POLAND

UNSATISFACTORY PARTY WORK IN ARTS NOTED

LD290805 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1607 GMT 28 Nov 85

[Text] Members of the plenum of the party district committee in Wroclaw-Stare Miasto [Wroclaw Old Town] today discussed the problems of party work in the creative milieux. Most of Wroclaw's cultural institutions are situated precisely on this district's territory. These institutions employ around 8,000 persons, among which are 437 party members concentrated in 25 organizations. There is cause for anxiety because of the small number of new members being accepted. As Jerzy (?Kopacki), secretary for organization, stated: This is an expression of unsatisfactory activity by the various party organizations. The party, in its activity, must primarily try to influence that section of creative artists and activists who continue to remain passive. The party proposes to solve this and other problems of the creative milieu by setting up a cultural center for the young. It is planned to use the renovated premises of the old town (SMCLN) for this purpose and to interest the PRON district Council in social issues pertaining to the culture-creating milieu. In order to activate the party organization, it is proposed to set up a commission, which will coordinate and initiate activity in the various institutions.

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POLITICS

POLAND

MESSNER, POREBSKI AT SCIENCE EXHIBIT OPENING

LD100046 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1830 GMT 9 Dec 85

[No video available]

[Excerpts] An exhibition entitled Science for Society has been opened in Warsaw.

The exhibition has aroused understandable interest. Representatives of the party and the government, including Zbigniew Messner and Tadeusz Porebski attended. Prof Jan Karol Kostrzewski, chairman of the Polish Academy of Sciences (PAN) was showing the exhibition to the guests.

The exposition shows that Polish science can now achieve. It shows directions for changes which should occur in our economy so that Poland, on the threshold of the 21st century, would find itself in the group of highly developed countries. Premier Messner stressed that, taking into consideration the scale of needs and our country's capabilities, the achievements are most. Scientists were talking about difficulties in proceeding from laboratory tests to large scale production.

Let us hope that the exhibition, organized under the slogan Science for Society will bring about greater utilization of research achievements in the national economy.

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POLITICS

POLAND

ACCORD WITH ETHIOPIAN PARTY SIGNED

LD121131 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1820 GMT 11 Dec 85

[Yigletu's remarks in vernacular with superimposed translation]

[Text] Jozef Czyrek, member of the Politburo and secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, and Ashagre Yigletu, secretary of the Workers Party of Ethiopia [WPE] Central Committee, signed in Warsaw today an agreement on cooperation between the two parties. After the signing of the agreement our reporter Henryk Szubach talked to the Ethiopian guest.

[Begin recording] [Yigletu] The agreement signed today on cooperation between the PZPR and the WPE also constitutes foundations for cooperation between our governments and mass organizations. It will also make it easier to transfer information concerning our countries. We have also signed today a protocol on cooperation in 1986-87, which envisages an exchange of delegations from both parties, as well as experts. These documents are of historical significance because our parties have signed a cooperation agreement for the first time. This will influence the development of multilateral contacts between the PZPR and the WPE, our states and also between our peoples.

[Szubach] What is now the socioeconomic situation in Ethiopia?

[Yigletu] The Ethiopian nation is struggling for a just social system to be established. For example, we have nationalized land, housing, private industry, trade and banks. At the same time we are fighting against forces of imperialism and counterrevolution. Last year Ethiopia fell victim to a disastrous calamity of drought. Almost 8 million people suffered from famine. We did everything we could to diminish the effects of drought and help the people. [end recording]

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POLITICS

POLAND

MESSNER'S MINERS DAY SPEECH

LD032017 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1638 GMT 3 Dec 85

[Speech by Zbigniew Messner, member of the PZPR Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the Polish Council of Ministers, at Miners Day Rally in Zabrze--live; no video available]

[Text] Esteemed meeting participants, dear miners. The Barborka [miners day] is traditionally the opportunity to pay homage to the miners' toil and to give thanks for the results of the extraction industries achieved through hard work. The particularly festive character of this feast is marked by the tradition of the mining profession and constitutes an integral part. For miners and their families this is the day of satisfaction and achievement, the opportunity to evaluate their work which serves the society and the whole country. In Poland every year about half a billion tonnes of useful minerals, mostly hard coal, lignite, ores, sulphur and many other raw materials which are the source of energy and which make it possible for many sectors of the economy to function are extracted. This is the result of work of hundreds of thousands of people from the mining profession. For this effort, for the solid and hard work and its results, I wish to thank you now on behalf of the highest party and state authorities. The words of the highest appreciation for all the Polish miners are herewith conveyed by me from Comrade Wojciech Jaruzelski, the first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, chairman of the Council of State.

My special thanks go to the hard coal miners and the community of Katowice voivodship, whose mines are the fundamental and decisive part of the Polish extraction industry. While conveying the words of gratitude I wish to emphasize that in the most difficult period of the recent years it was the miners who contributed in a decisive degree to the return of the development trends to the Polish economy. They created a material base for the implementation of the 3-year plan which started in 1983. Almost a month before the end of the year one can say that the mining industry will clearly exceed the 3-year plan.

Additional production will allow better supply of domestic industry with raw materials and energy. These facts objectively determine position and importance of the mining industry. They constitute an important factor in the discussion on directions of economic development. For many years there has

been a general opinion that raw material resources, hard coal in particular, are almost unlimited in Poland. Such thinking was not conducive to thrift, or to creation of economic instruments for enforcing compliance. As a result, a particular energy and material consuming structure in industry and construction was shaped and there is no habit of thrifty energy use in private homes, in production enterprises, or in offices and institutions. Such conduct by individual and collective users has also continued in recent years when we had a relatively good coal supply to the economy and domestic market. However it was a temporary situation arising from the low level of industrial production together with restoring the normal pace of work in the mining industry. Restoration of a level of export production and an increase in social demands have again sharply raised the issue of the country's energy balance. Thinking about future years and matters which we will have to solve, we have to be aware that there is no possibility for a substantial increase in energy raw material supplies. On the contrary, it is already necessary today to spend considerable outlays so that there will be no decrease in the level of energy production. Having appropriate energy resources is decisive in realizing an increase in national income, for development of industrial production and for solving social issues and improving living conditions of all citizens. In our country coal is the basic energy source. That justifies the importance which we attach to its extraction and rational use.

The government has thoroughly analysed this issue, taking into consideration options of the national socio-economic plan for 1986-90, the draft of which will be submitted to the Sejm and to society shortly. The starting point is the opinion that in the years 1986-90 we must maintain the present level of coal extraction. All discussions and deliberations on the subject decreasing coal extraction levels show a lack of realism. A drop in coal production would weaken the development impetus of the economy, decrease our payment possibilities and undermine Poland's credibility in the world. We would be threatened with a recurrence of the economic situation of the beginning of the eighties. Thus, we allocate considerable means for maintaining the existing raw material and energy potential, for its modernization and the creation of possibilities for future development.

The value of these means will result from economic possibilities and the overall investment policy. The Government in the past 5-year period made a serious effort to develop the raw material and energy base. The building of 7 new hard coal mines and 34 new extraction levels began during that period. In 3 mines and 11 levels extraction has already commenced. The building of 35 more levels is anticipated in the coming 5-year period and the Kaczyce, [word indistinct] and Warszowice mines will commence extraction.

The maintaining of the quantity of extraction must be accompanied by more effective measures aiming at lowering the extraction cost while further raising the coal's quality and increasing its calorific value. These measures must be undertaken in the ministry, at mining companies and in the pits. New investments and an improvement in the work organization are one of two directions for action aimed at maintaining energy equilibrium. Achieving clear progress in the economies of fuel, energy and raw materials is a parallel task and one that will be decisive in the longer run.

We shall start changing the structure of fuels used, aiming to increase the ratio of gas and liquid fuels and nuclear energy. We shall speed up changes in the production structure of our processing industry. We shall promote modern, economic technologies and products, and gradually eliminate the most energy-consuming ones.

To achieve this aim already in the nearest 5-year period we shall significantly increase funds for research and development work and the implementation of its results. We shall closely cooperate with the CEMA countries, and the Soviet Union in particular, implementing the long-term program that has been adopted.

The clear decrease in power consumption per unit of production of the national income is one of the fundamental conditions for the realization of intentions for the coming 5-year period. After all there are considerable reserves in this sphere. The need to increase thriftiness increases every year. For example, the increase in industrial production planned for 1986 and construction of new flats in the amount planned requires to increase coal deliveries from 5 million to 5 and 1/2 million tonnes. This amount cannot be gained by increasing extraction, this is simply impossible. The present year is typified by a very tense energy balance. A sharper than usual winter in 1984-1985 and the earlier onset of cold weather this year have increased the demand for coal very considerably. In spite of the good work by the hard coal miners and the significant overfulfilment of tasks in extraction of lignite, in spite of the significant increase in supply of coal to the market, the needs of the society have not been completely fulfilled. This forces us to undertake radical measures which force the savings in energy, both by the industry and by the private consumers. This is the only way to balance the capabilities and needs of the economy. Because of increased supplies of hard coal to the market and the increased consumption of coal by the industry the exports will amount to 36 million tonnes, significantly less than last year.

The continuation of the downward trend in the exports of coal in the future years is unacceptable. It must be prevented or else we are going to be threatened by serious problems in maintaining imports of industrial supplies and the settlement of the debt repayments at planned levels.

Esteemed participants mining is not just a matter of extracting millions of tonnes of useful minerals. Equally important are the conditions of miners' work and pay, providing for them the conditions to use the achievements of culture, conditions for leisure, rest and sport. We are undertaking relevant decisions in these matters. Some of them have been mentioned by Minister Czeslaw Piotrowski and leader of the miners federation Comrade Moric.

Actions protecting human health and life are of particular importance among miners. The Polish mining industry is among world leaders in safety. However we cannot set our mind at rest because of that. Potential dangers are not decreasing. Actions serving protection of health and life of mining crews are and will be of utmost importance. Further visible progress in the sphere of environmental protection is very important. Substantial means are and will be spent on land reclamation, on water and air protection, on repairing



the damage done by the mining industry and nonutilization of industrial waste. The government policy in this sphere concerns both the present and the future. I said in my Sejm speech on November 12 that the government is of the opinion that full public involvement and civic coresponsibility are indispensable for efficient implementation of planned designs. Labor competition opens a wide field for professional activity of mining crews. Suitable initiatives are desired in this sphere, especially from trade unions. The socialist labor competition movement has good traditions in our country, but circumstances have changed considerably since the years when first initiatives were taken. However, the splendid idea has remained and it is worth continuing, particularly in such spheres as effectiveness, quality, rational management of raw materials and energy, and improvement of labor organization. This idea has been taken up again in many collieries. Miners of Halemba, Borynia or Debinsk have some experiences worth disseminating. We are encouraging you to use them. We count on inventors and rationalizers, whose creative mind can make work lighter, more effective and, most of all, safer. A decisive role is played here by engineering and technical cadre and members of mining supervising. We expect that as before they will give an example of professional efficiency and reliability.

Dear miners, there were not many ceremonial words in my speech. I rather listed many problems whose solution we are still facing. That does not mean to minimize your successes and real achievements. The truth is such that concrete deeds are a far better measure of respect than words. Apart from material results--coal, copper, sulphur and many other raw materials which our country needs--the mining industry has shaped the exceptionally valuable tradition of good work. Performing one's duty with reliability, not letting down a close coworker, not avoiding the most difficult tasks--these are the values creating the ethos of miners' work, this is an example worth following and disseminating, and the base for other valuable social features such as strong family links, responsibility for surroundings, deep patriotism. For these values and for your attitude I wish to thank you cordially. I want to convey you the wishes of quiet and safe work. Please also accept wishes of every success for you and for those close to you, for all mining families.

Allow me a personal remark at the end. For many years I have been attending the Miners Day, many times in this hall, first sitting in a spectators gallery, then in the middle and for several years in the first row. Every time on this day I have had the same feelings of warmth and cordiality, of great respect for your work, for those who work at present and those who created foundations of the mining industry in previous years. Praise and glory to you. Thank you for your attentions.

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POLITICS

POLAND

#### CZYREK OPENS PARTY IDEOLOGICAL CONFERENCE

AU041026 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 28 Nov 85 pp 1, 2

[Report on opening speech by Jozef Czyrek, PZPR Politburo member and Central Committee secretary, at the 27 November Warsaw session of the Second National Party Ideological Theoretical Conference]

[Text] Welcoming the participants at the conference, J. Czyrek expressed the conviction that the conference will be dominated by a creative and committed atmosphere and that it will accomplish its tasks.

The ninth PZPR congress, J. Czyrek stressed, initiated the process of socialist renewal and the necessary changes in the style of party work, which means that all party echelons now actively participate in "working out" the key theoretical and practical issues of socialist construction in Poland. In this way we made preparations for the sixth, seventh, ninth, and other Central Committee plenums and drew up the declaration "What We Are Struggling for and Where We Are Going." In addition, we have carried out numerous consultations with party organizations about crucial practical problems and decisions. The theoretical-ideological conferences have also adopted this style of party, J. Czyrek said.

Further, J. Czyrek recalled that the first ideological-theoretical conference 3 years ago laid down the task for the ideological front in the period of our efforts to overcome the most acute stage of our crisis. That conference made a great contribution toward strengthening the ideological unity and consolidation of the party's forces. That was a time of difficult ideological discussions, of overcoming and rejecting many erroneous political views, and of searching for in-depth and honest answers to the question that continued to intrigue the party and people.

Today, J. Czyrek continued, the situation of the party and of our people is now qualitatively different, but this does not diminish the importance of the party's ideopolitical work. On the contrary, this poses for the party new more complicated commitments and tasks. One such strategically important task is for the 10th party congress to adopt a new party program.

In connection with this task, J. Czyrek said, the editorial team of the commission charged with drawing up the PZPR program has completed an initial draft, which the Central Committee ideological commission has debated on two occasions already. We now propose that this conference should discuss the draft. Our debates at the conference, J. Czyrek said in conclusion, open a phase of direct preparations for the congress and amount to the first extensive discussion of the draft program by those who through their theoretical knowledge and practical political experience are able to make an especially important contribution to this important document.

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POLITICS

POLAND

#### BEDNARSKI REPORTS TO IDEOLOGICAL CONFERENCE

AU061433 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 28 Nov 85 p 2

["Summary" of the report delivered by Central Committee Secretary Henryk Bednarski to the 27 November session of the Second National Party Ideological-Theoretical Conference in Warsaw: "The Programs of the Fraternal Communist Party--Problems, Experience, Proposals"]

[Text] The rich experience amassed by the workers movement since the October revolution, H. Bednarski said, has proved that programmatic thought in the construction of a new system is very important and that the successful development of socialist changes requires that general laws and the national specific historic conditions for implementing these changes must be reconciled in a creative and profound manner. The interplay of what is universal and necessary with what is specific and national is the most general law of the construction of socialism and constitutes the common denominator of the programmatic thought of the fraternal parties.

The report to the conference draws attention to the fact that in the fifties and sixties the communist parties evaluated the years during which the bases of socialism were being built and the prospects for the future in their congress documents and that the achievements registered during those years and a new approach to socialist construction have influenced the programmatic documents relating to constructing a mature and developed socialist society. These documents were adopted by party congresses in the first half of the seventies and have been gradually developed up to this day.

Mapping out programs for the process of mature socialism, the communist parties have determined their own role and place in this process. The victory of revolution, the achievement of political power, and profound and comprehensive changes have proved that these parties have successfully accomplished their tasks as political and ideological leaders of the workers class and all the working people, although they have not avoided errors.

The history of the socialist community countries, H. Bednarski continued, demonstrates the great importance of their comprehensive internationalist ties and the effectiveness of their struggle for national and social liberation as well as for peace and progress, and against imperialist diktat in international relations. In a world that is divided on the issue of classes



the objective need for close cooperation among socialist countries and peoples on the key issues of domestic development, foreign and defense policy, progress in socialist economic integration, expansive cultural exchanges, and a stronger sense of the community of ideological aims and historical fates of the peoples and countries of socialism.

The lines along which socialism can be improved at its higher stages of the construction of the communist formation, H. Bednarski stressed, are included in the new CPSU program, which is politically and theoretically a very important document for the world workers movement, especially for the socialist system. The CPSU program notes that "the amassed experience and the scientific examination of the changes in the country's internal life and in the international arena make it possible to define more closely and specifically the prospects for the development of Soviet society, the ways and means of achieving the ultimate aim--communism--and the tasks of international policy under new conditions of history." The work on the new version of the CPSU program and on the PZPR draft program has continued at the same time, but independently.

In their draft programs the two parties have stressed similar streams in their policies--streams that are decisive and that include effectiveness of economic management, especially progress in scientific-technological revolution and management relations developed in line with the actual level of production forces; the need for unceasing efforts to intensify socialist democracy; fully humanist people-to-people relations in line with the enormous opportunities provided by our system; the importance of the unity of the socialist community countries; and the consolidation of the international solidarity of the working people in their struggle for peace and social progress.

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# ORZECZOWSKI DISCUSSES PARTY PROGRAM

AD061432 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 28 Nov 85 p 2

["Summary" of the report delivered by Marian Orzechowski, PZPR Politburo candidate member, to the 27 November session of the Second National Party Ideological-Theoretical Conference in Warsaw; "The Development of the Programmatic Thought of the Workers Revolutionary Movement in Poland and the Basic Principles of the PZPR Long-Term Program"]

[Text] Delivering his report, M. Orzechowski stressed that the discussion of the party program, which is the basic theoretical and political document of the party, and the adoption of this program will be an important event for the party as attested to by the fact that the party program is a record of intentions and measures that will lead to certain theoretically justified social aims.

M. Orzechowski noted that Marxist-Leninist ideology identifies the most general values and aims to be followed by the party of the workers class and that the party program develops these intentions and aims as canons of policy and adapts them each time to the social and material realities and needs of a certain group, class, and party. The party's ability to draw up a program for socialist changes, a program that defines the aims and conditions of socialist construction at its individual stages, is one of the basic conditions for implementing the party's leading role among the people and for the party's management of state functions, economic development, and the mobilization of the masses. The party bears responsibility for the class contents of the planned and implemented socioeconomic solutions. Party must see that the socioeconomic plans and programs are developed in such a way as to guarantee the interests of the workers class, the observance of social justice, and the development of people's rule. The experience of history has produced the truth, the report continues, that the workers class is unable to assert its leading role among the people without possessing its own political party. Aside from its party, the workers class possesses no other instrument with which to influence all the people, all aspects of their social life, and the directions of the revolution of the sociopolitical system. It is precisely the party program that constitutes the condition under which the workers class is able to implement its class interests, aims, and values.

Further the report stresses that the basic function of the party that manages the process of changing society along socialist lines is to lay down the tasks connected with new stages of socialist construction and the tasks that are still not solved and to determine the methods of implementing these tasks. Despite all the difficulties in constricting the party program, M. Orzechowski said, it has been based on solid foundations, because creatively applied Marxism-Leninism, the programmatic traditions of the Polish workers movement, and the experience of socialist construction in other countries are the source of programmatic searches and inspiration. This means that in drawing up the PZPR program we have consulted the necessary sources in order to more fully master the achievements and experience of Marxist-Leninist classics and to look in Marxism-Leninism for new inspiration for the continuation of the programmatic and creative effort of the PZPR to meet the needs of the turn of the millenium.

Having analyzed the party's role in the successive stages of socialist construction in Poland, M. Orzechowski stressed that the Ninth PZPR Congress had returned to the tradition of realistically programming social changes. The congress's evaluation of the social and economic situation, of the party's responsibility for the crisis, and of the need for changes to democratize our political system initiated a new stage in programming the development of socialism in Poland.

The PZPR draft program, M. Orzechowski concluded, is an attempt to summarize most succinctly the experience of socialist construction in Poland in the past 40 years and to formulate proposals about our achievements and failures. On the basis of an in-depth Marxist-Leninist analysis, the program defines the state and the stage of the present socialist changes and maps out their long-term development in the form of programmatic directives for the period up to about the end of this millenium.

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#### GENERAL VIEWS SECURITY AT PARTY CONFERENCE

AU041018 Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 30 Nov-1 Dec 85 p 3

[Speech by General of Arms Jozef Baryla, chief of the Main Political Administration of the Polish Armed Forces and vice minister of national defense, at the 29 November Warsaw session of the Second National Party Ideological-Theoretical Conference]

[Excerpts] Considering all the determining factors in Poland's position on the political map of Europe, our country bases its security not only on its own defense potential, but also on the defense alliance of the Warsaw Pact. This is the iron canon of our policy. However, our country also bases its development on economic cooperation with other countries of the world. This cooperation depends on our economic potential and on the general political atmosphere in the world. It depends on the extent to which the idea of lasting peace has a real value in international relations.

I do not have to describe to this gathering the causes of global tensions and dangers. All I have to do is to note that the basic source of dangers is the policy of international imperialism, of which the United States is the citadel. The United States is responsible for unleashing the arms race and for pushing mankind toward the brink of apocalypse.

The struggle for peace has now acquired supreme importance and has entered a decisive stage. We are still under the impression of the Geneva meeting between CPSU general secretary M. Gorbachev and U.S. President R. Reagan. We are familiar with all the documents relating to this meeting and to its interpretation, and it is certain that we can call it historic.

Poland's peace and security are not values that have been granted us forever. The struggle for these values continues all the time, also within our country itself, which means that we also face internal dangers. I will discuss them.

There are still in our country the people who, regardless of the progressive stabilization of our life, are trying to undermine our development. This is a struggle in the area of ideology, political thought, science and culture for the awareness of our people and for the permanence of the socialist state.



The fact that it may be possible to reduce tension in the international situation does not at all mean that our internal political adversary will give up his destructive activities. However, we are able to counter his work effectively. The elections to the people's council and the Sejm have proved that the underground forces continue to weaken, that they have lost the support of society, and that their true face betrays their open anti-Polish service for alien money.

We still vividly remember the events of 1980-81 when the activities of our adversaries continued to threaten our national existence and even to raise the specter of an international conflict. Those events were a very salutary lesson. Our adversaries are still trying to change the awareness of our people, especially of young Poles, and are doing this by proclaiming the popular antiwar slogans in an antisocialist manner, by promoting pacifist attitudes, by appealing for the establishment of the so-called independent peace movement, and by creating new planes of struggle. Attempts to undermine the desirability of strengthening our defense and to falsely interpret our expenditures on defense purposes also serve that end.

Are these attempts an exclusive domestic product? Of course not. Our adversaries have rich and experienced external sponsors. Our adversaries' plans are carefully coordinated and materially supported on the other side of the Atlantic, as most recently attested to by the U.S. foundation for antistate structures.

The issue of the state's security is becoming a central issue for all citizens because in the present restless world only a state that is stable and strong in its strong alliances and that possesses the necessary defense potential and an industrious and united society can play a significant role.

I propose that the party program should adopt some lessons stemming from our experience of history. I propose that especially the following four lessons be adopted because they express the intensity of patriotism and internationalism:

--We must never again be weak because no one reckons with the weak;

--The people who are united around the most important issues are capable of greatest feats and sacrifices;

--Dedications to and respect for work and readiness to defend the fatherland are the foremost examples of the civic attitude without which no nation is able to exist;

--It is necessary to have strong and reliable allies and, when they are there, to value them and to develop and strengthen cooperation with them.

In conclusion I want to most strongly stress that in their ideoeducational work our Armed Forces will actively help to strengthen Poland because they are deeply convinced that Poland's security and peace are overriding values that are shared by all of us.

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#### IDEOLOGICAL CONFERENCE SUMMATIONS

AD090858 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 29 Nov 85 p 5

[Report on speeches made by Jozef Czyrek, PZPR Politburo member and PZPR Central Committee secretary, and Marian Orzechowski, PZPR Politburo candidate member, and minister of foreign affairs at the 28 November session of the Second National Party Ideological and Theoretical Conference in Warsaw]

[Text] M. Orzechowski Sums Up the Discussion

Marian Orzechowski, chairman of the PZPR Draft Program Editorial Commission, recapitulated the substance of the discussion. He noted that the conference had opened a new phase of frank discussion on the content of the program. One hundred and twenty people took the floor in issue teams and at the conference plenary discussion. Motions and observations were entered into the conference protocol by 36 people. During the conference, attention was often drawn to issues which lie outside the PZPR Program and academic reflection. Academics have a right, and this is also thanks to the conference, to feel that they are co-creators of the draft program. For understandable reasons, the exchange of views showed that academics have a great variety of viewpoints on certain issues. However, as a result of the conference, the distance separating views on many issues was reduced.

M. Orzechowski also expressed the conviction that the document which is at present being drafted will meet present-day challenges, will be equal to our times--unlike similar great documents in the past.

M. Orzechowski devoted part of his speech to outlining future commission and editorial team work on the draft program. He also pointed out certain general and specific proposals made during the conference which ought to be taken into consideration during further work on the draft program.

Speech Made by J. Czyrek

Speaking at the close of the conference J. Czyrek underscored the importance of the conference for discussion of the draft party program. The Politburo will examine the suggestions made during the conference and will convey appropriate instructions to the Editorial Team for the Formulation of the Program. Once the draft program has been amended to take into account these observations, and especially the speech made by Central Committee First

Secretary Wojciech Jaruzelski, a version will be submitted to the Central Committee. Decisions on presenting the document before the party and society will be taken by the Central Committee. The Central Committee secretary reminded the audience that in accordance with a resolution passed by the National Conference of Delegates, discussion of the document should last at least four months. Taking into consideration the planned date of the 10th Congress, which will decide the final form of the program, the draft program ought to be published in the first few weeks of the coming year.

J. Czyrek stressed that the attention of the entire party had focused on the conference deliberations and that the material which the conference has provided will be closely examined and put to use. Society, and in particular the party, is aware of the importance of the conference, of the significance of the issues which were discussed at it.

The course of conference discussions had shown how necessary such a conference had been for further improvement of the PZPR draft program, stressed the Central Committee secretary. Thus, the Second National Party Ideological and Theoretical Conference had completely fulfilled the hopes which had been placed in it. The speaker added that it would be worthwhile to organize regional conferences devoted to discussion of the draft program, within the framework of planned discussions in those voivodships in which there existed an appropriate base.

The Central Committee secretary then noted that the PZPR program ought--as Wojciech Jaruzelski had emphasized in his speech to the conference--to be the work of the entire party, it should not originate in the quiet of studies, it cannot be the creation of scholars alone, it must reflect the collective wisdom and experience of the entire party. What is wanted is a program which will enjoy the confidence and support of the workers' class, and of all the working people in our country.

J. Czyrek stressed that the discussion of the draft program would be an important factor in the pre-congress campaign. It should serve to enliven the party's ideological life, to prove ideology's importance for the successful implementation of the line adopted at the 9th Congress, and it should, above all, strengthen the unity of the party on the basis of common opinions and the choice of the fundamental lines of society's and the state's development; and it should show that Marxism and Leninism are living ideologies, on the basis of which the workers' class--under the leadership of the party--can build a just social system.

In intending to present a program of development for the socialist fatherland before all of society, the party is guided by the belief that the essential conditions for overcoming difficulties and threats, and being equal to the tasks determining development, already exist. We must attain a rate of development for Poland which will enhance its strength, ensure the just and democratic nature of its system of social relations, increase its economic and cultural potential, and will help Poland to recover world respect and an important role in international life. The main line of the program and congress should be determined by the slogan of continuing the policy of

socialist renewal and that of accelerating the country's socioeconomic development. This slogan conveys the essence of the program and emphasizes its dynamic character.

The Central Committee secretary expressed the belief that submitting the draft program for the widest possible discussion will represent another important step along the path of enhancing national accord. For what can be of more importance for accord, for the bond between the party and society, than agreement on the direction in which we want to go, on what we can realistically achieve, and on what we should concentrate our efforts. The program should be a program of national accord in its own way, a program around which the nation will be mobilized.

The many-sided and frequently polemical and critical discussions during the conference confirm that the party is ready to draft a document presenting a long-term conception of the socialist development of our country; the conference also showed how hard it is to draft such a program. We are not creating a program of instructions, or a text-book of political tactics. The program should both set out the long-term strategy of party activity and mobilize all its members, all of society, in the realization of the goals and tasks set out in the program.

We want every party member to be able to compare his attitudes and actions with the aims of the party program; to enable the party member to judge himself, to be able to tell how far his actions serve the attainment of these goals and values.

Ending his speech J. Czyrek said that work on the draft program would continue. The beginning of public discussion of this document places a great responsibility on the Central Committee Commission for the Draft Program, and in particular on its editorial team, a responsibility that entails an extraordinary amount of concentrated and selfless work. The discussion during the course of the deliberations strengthens our conviction that on the basis of the results of the Second Ideological and Theoretical Conference we are in a position to be equal to this task.

Thanking those present for their active participation in the conference J. Czyrek said he believed that they will actively participate in further discussions and in further work on the draft program.

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#### PZPR CONTROL COMMISSION ON CADRE, DISCIPLINE

AU042059 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 31 Oct-3 Nov 85 pp 1,2

[Text] PAP--The Presidium of the PZPR Central Control Commission, which was in session on 30 October, evaluated the commission's share in implementing "The Main Principles of the PZPR's Cadre Policy."

The session approved of the party echelons' practice of informing the territorial control commission about applications for cadre appointments before considering these applications. This enables the territorial commissions to make good use of the cadre records based on their reviewing, control, and educational work relating to cadres. It also approved the participation of party control commissions in the work of the teams appointed to make periodic cadre reviews.

The session noted that the control commissions' proposals that certain people should not be recommended for leading positions were justified as attested to by the fact that most of the 279 such proposals in the first 8 months of this year have already been implemented. The most frequent reasons for such proposals, which are addressed to party echelons, were neglect of duties, bad management, and violations of moral norms. One of the important tasks of the party control commissions is to ensure that party members observe the moral norms laid down in the party statute.

The session noted that from the educational and discipline viewpoints cautionary talks with party members who commit various offenses are useful. In the first half of this year all control commissions had some 4,000 talks, including over 2,000 talks with the people at various leading posts.

The session noted that control commissions continue to support party echelons with increasing effectiveness with regard to correctly developing cadre policy, but that it is necessary to continue and improve educational and disciplining activities.

The session studied the results of the activities carried out by the Central Party Control Commission together with the Agricultural, Food, and Economic Departments of the Central Committee in connection with the irregularities in this year's harvest and, especially, with the fact that some spare parts were not available, overhauls were delayed, and the deadlines for harvest machinery reviews were not kept.

To establish the reasons for this, the control commission had talks with party members from the Ministries of Metallurgy and Machine-building, Finances, Agriculture and Food Economy, Chemistry and Light Industry, and Foreign Trade and with officials from the Central Agricultural Center, from agricultural circles and organizations, and from the Agrona farm machinery agency. The commission also interviewed managers and party secretaries from the Plock harvest machinery plant and the Ursus plant.

The session approved of the results of these talks, noting that aside from objective reasons, a number of harvest irregularities had been caused by a lack of initiative, efficiency, and discipline on the part of the people responsible for harvest. The session noted that these people were responsible to the party for the consistent implementation of the ninth congress and 11th plenum resolutions in this regard. Aside from ad hoc measures, it is necessary to accelerate measures to ensure that the problem of spare parts and their distribution is solved once and for all, and that the deadlines for harvest machinery overhauls are kept.

The session also studied the results of the adjudicating teams of the control commission in the first 9 months of this year. The teams held 41 sessions, considered 274 cases of party members, decided to remove 76 members from the party, and passed 72 resolutions on lower party punishment. They also examined 126 appeals against removal from the party, as well as requests for the annulment of punishment and for the right to re-apply for party membership.

The session agreed that the teams observed the party statute and the rules of the central commission when dealing with party members' cases.

The session was chaired by Jerzy Urbanski, chairman of the Central Party Control Commission.

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#### KALKUS VIEWS WORKER STAND ON PARTY MEASURES

AU271252 Warsaw ZYCIE PARTII in Polish 6 Nov 85, issue 23, pp 3, 6

[Interview given by Stanislaw Kalkus, PZPR Politburo member and brigade leader in the Cegielski plant in Poznan, to Andrzej Wisniewski: "Workers and the Party"—date and place not given]

[Excerpts] [Wisniewski] Rank-and-file party members are certain that the coming extensive discussions before the 10th party congress will produce a program that will continue the line of the ninth party congress. How far is this consistent with the hopes of the people, above all the workers?

[Kalkus] The results of the Sejm elections speak for themselves. They have provided clear proof that our people accept the ninth congress line. It is easy to be wise after the event, but all the same I want to assert that I was not surprised to learn that these results were better than those of the elections to the people's councils last year. I knew this would be so because my talks with many people from various communities, and above my knowledge of workers views and hopes, told me so.

[Wisniewski] What did workers vote for?

[Kalkus] Some of them certainly voted out of a sense of civic duty, but most of them expressed their support for socialist reforms. To state this does not amount to an expression of triumph. Our workers went to vote because they were keenly aware of the shortcomings, troubles, and problems that continue to harass them and all other people. Nevertheless, our workers awareness has been changed in the past few years. Our workers have understood not only the meaning of our errors, but also the meaning of the exploitation of these errors by our adversaries. This awareness is the source of their support for our party. Today our workers are no longer cooped up in a blind alley. They can see that each year consolidates our stabilization and produces clear progress, however small it is.

Our workers are for social stabilization and progress as well as for a total realization of socialist reforms. This attitude is also based on the knowledge that today workers are able to influence decisions in their own plants and on a wider scale, if they want to exert such influence. Let me add that they want to do so with increasing frequency. Workers continue to take

increasing advantage of their participation in government through their representative bodies, workers self-management bodies, trade unions, and party organizations, which politically manage plants in the interest of the workforces.

[Wisniewski] It is true that social passivity is being increasingly overcome and that social militancy is reasserting itself. How far is this true of workers?

[Kalkus] I do not think workers have ever been passive. It was not the workers who devise the slogan of so-called internal boycott. Certainly there was a time when workers, perhaps workers above all, were especially bitter, disappointed, and pessimistic. But this is a thing of the past as attested to not only by the Sejm elections, but also by the election campaign and many other important events, particularly such as the development of trade unions, the efficient performance of workers self-management bodies, the good work of the worker-peasant inspection teams, and the clearly greater militancy of the people's councils, which are composed of more workers than was the case in the past. [passage omitted on workers representation in Poznan social bodies]

[Wisniewski] Does an average worker support the economic reform?

[Kalkus] I am amused by people who ask workers whether they can feel that the reform is working. The reply to this is "No." Workers will say that their earning have always been low and are low now, too. They will say this on the principle that it is always better to grumble because grumbling may lead to some wage increases. It will take us a long time to reach a situation in which average workers know what the reform is all about. On the other hand, workers have always known how to calculate and carried out reforms for their own benefit long before we began to use the term "reform." The meaning of the reform for the average worker consists above all in the organization of his work and of the performance of his plant in such a way that people stand in line in front of the plant, hoping to be employed by it.

[Wisniewski] Do you think manpower difficulties are being somewhat exaggerated? Is this not one way of getting more wages?

[Kalkus] If you ask Cegielski workers or workers in many other plants whether there is a manpower shortage they will tell you that there is not. Many will tell you that they just wait to get hold of any work and do it. If you ask this question of plant managers, each one of them will tell you that he is short of workers. As is usual, the truth is in the middle. It is true that we do not utilize our production potential by a long chalk. For example, the shift intensify in our heavy industries amounts to 1.2-1.3 points, which confirms managers' views that it would be useful to have more workers to exploit machinery more fully. However, what workers say is also true, namely, that they could produce more if the work were better organized.



That is why we should first do that which is feasible and listen to workers. At the same time, we should try to improve the prospects of our economy through our work. As for the pressure for wages which you have mentioned, it is a bad practice, but we have to remember that the workers community is not united in viewing the interests of society. In every individual there takes place a contest between his own interests and those of society. [passage omitted on work discipline]

The workers community is not homogeneous in its attitude to work. Some of us work well and some work badly. In particular, it is young workers who are less committed to work and are less attached to their plants. However, they are quite keen on looking after their own interests. Of course, there are people who will always be useless in work as long as they live. I have said this to stress that it is not through training that we must penetrate people's awareness but through mechanisms that force them to adopt honest attitudes toward work and life. We must do all we can--actually we are doing it--to make people realize again that only work can produce the cake we want to eat, as we say in the Poznan region. We must restore the awareness of this fact among many workers, engineers, physicians, civil servants, and so on. [passage omitted on 16th CC Plenum]

[Wisniewski] Because of difficult determining factors, party policy includes many unpopular decisions. How do workers receive them?

[Kalkus] They are not enthusiastic about them, but they receive them with understanding and with an increasing sense of realism. Popular decisions may involve pandering to people and unpopular ones usually indicate that problems are approached with responsibility. Regardless of all their grumblings, people value responsibility and consistency more than anything else. I would not be a worker if at this point I failed to assert that we are not always fully consistent. But we continue the line of the ninth congress, and those who take a realistic view of life appreciate this.

We do not depart from this line, but various determining factors which are not always appreciated by our society prevent us from being fully consistent in our decisions and in our actions that are determined not only by those at the top, but also by ourselves and by our pressure on the center of power to depart from the rules of the economic reform. Taking advantage of the fact that our investment potential has reached its limits to some extent, we often ask for benefits that are good for a given plant but that are harmful for our efforts to rapidly eliminate our economic crisis. I think that the center of power has a difficult task to accomplish in the near future: to estimate accurately and correctly who really needs help and who must be brutally refused help. This task must be actively shared by our primary party organizations if we are to assert that the entire party bears joint responsibility for the people.

[Wisniewski] In this connection I would like to ask how workers received the 20th Central Committee plenum, which summed up party work and pointed out its weaknesses.

[Kalkus] The plenum created great interest, but was received without excitement. It was received as proof of the party's responsibility. Only the weak refuse to admit weaknesses, but the strong freely speak about their weaknesses because they are strong enough to eliminate them. This is how workers viewed the 20th plenum. They received it as proof that the party's strength continues to increase and that our adversary continues to weaken. People appreciate the fact that the party continues to seek full effectiveness. I do not have to stress how important it is for the party to strive for effectiveness. Our effectiveness in action determines the implementation of the ninth congress resolutions, and this implementation will determine the future opportunities for the country's development. Every primary party organization must be fully aware of this because the 10th party congress is approaching.

Going back to your first question, I would like to say that there have never been as many plenums as since the ninth party congress. There have never been so many innovations and so much determination to overcome difficulties. There was the 16th plenum. There was the 11th plenum of the PZPR Central Committee and the ZSL Supreme Committee. We can see the results of this joint plenum in agriculture and in the consumer market. The recent 19th plenum was devoted to the intelligentsia. Its results make me optimistic. All the plenums we have held are a continuation of the ninth congress line and help us accomplish the tasks of the ninth congress. This is how workers who, as I have said, praise consistency, stability, and responsibility for contracted pledges, view these plenums.

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CZYREK ON SOCIALIST PEACE EFFORTS

AU051540 Warsaw NOWE DROGI in Polish issue No 11 signed to press 12 Nov 85  
pp 5-14

[Article by Jozef Czyrek, PZPR Politburo member and Central Committee Secretary: "Socialism and Peace Are Indivisible Terms"]

[Excerpts] Seeking a permanent and just peace is an inseparable future of the workers movement, the liberation struggle of the masses, and socialist construction. From its very beginning the workers movement has appealed to the working people that they should reach agreement and close their ranks in the name of their basic interests and that they should pool their efforts to promote proletarian internationalism instead of struggling against their class brothers who talk a different language. International workers solidarity cannot be separated from efforts to counter aggression and war and to promote peace. [passage omitted on Soviet efforts for peace since October Revolution]

Despite the differences between the countries professing different political system and despite differences between social forces and political streams, realistic attitudes and determination to defend peace are strong features throughout Europe. This is the result of the conviction that Europe must not become a potential theater of war. Only the continuation of the process of transforming our continent into an area of peaceful, honest, and mutually beneficial East-West cooperation will be able to ensure the survival and development of Europe. The basic condition for this is to renounce all efforts at revenge, to consistently observe the inviolability of the existing territorial and political realities, to give up deploying new weapons, and to reduce the stocks of existing weapons. The socialist countries continue their efforts to this end at all levels of dialogue and concrete negotiations.

The vital interests of all the European nations make it necessary to continue the road mapped out in Helsinki, but our task is not only to reduce and eliminate various dangers. It is also our task to create models of constructive solutions. Of course, we know that the world does not end with Europe and that the issue of preventing war and of defending peace is not limited to Europe. While the nations between the Atlantic and the Ural have enjoyed the longest ever period of peace, wars have been waged almost without break in other parts of the world. Experts have calculated that about 20 million people have perished in various armed conflicts since the end of World War II

until now, that enormous economic, educational, and cultural losses have occurred, and that millions and millions of refugees, including homeless women and children, have been created.

Solicitude for world peace stresses the special need to counter dangers and to encourage a positive flow of events in Europe. A stable peace in Europe is a favorable factor in solving conflicts in other parts of the world. On the other hand, a threat to peace in Europe, which is a sensitive area, could cause an explosion that would not spare other continents. This is the elementary reason why the socialist countries and various peace forces in Europe are especially active for peace. Today there is a particular, even a dramatic need for this militancy. We are inspired by this conviction when we took effective measures to counter the plants to transform our country into a hot-bed of unrest and tension in the center of Europe. [passage omitted on need for peace]

This year the 68th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution has coincided with the peak of an especially intensive political season in the world. Soon the eyes of the world will be turned toward Geneva, where CPSU General Secretary M. Gorbachev and U.S. President R. Reagan will meet.

This summit meeting is rooted in complicated realities. On the one hand, the process of various meetings, contacts, dialogues, and proposals submitted by the USSR and other countries and various political forces has been intensified in the past few months, as attested by the Soviet-American negotiations in Geneva on space and nuclear armaments, by the overcoming of many difficulties at the Stockholm conference on confidence-building measures and security and disarmament in Europe, by the Helsinki meeting of the foreign ministers of the countries that signed the CSCE final act, and pay the solemn and creative nature of the U.N. jubilee session. It is therefore no exaggeration to say that an enormous majority of the world public has positive hopes of the Geneva "summit."

These hopes are all the stronger in view of the fact that, on the other hand, the other realities that form the background of the summit meeting concern the enormous dangers to peace. Statistics are unable to keep abreast of the increases in armament funds, which now amount to over \$1.5 billion a day. If the growing trend of the past few years is not halted, this daily amount will exceed \$2 billion in a year or two.

[Words indistinct] countries, on the great urgency of the problems of the natural environment, on old and new widespread diseases, and on the lack of even elementary educational facilities and civilization in many areas. We can fully comprehend the burden of armaments only when faced with these facts.

The very essence of socialism is decidedly against this state of affairs and for consistent efforts to curb armaments. The nature of our system, the history of its construction and improvement, ideological, social, and moral principles, and the class interests of workers and all working people make armaments something that is in conflict with socialist aims and something that hinders successful peaceful development, the efforts to raise civilization and culture, and the activities to meet social needs more effectively.



However, no one should expect that the socialist countries will let themselves be outstripped in defense and be forced to accept military superiority of other countries and that they will break down under the burden of the arms race heated up by the aggressive forces of imperialism. Caspar Weinberger is greatly mistaken when he proclaims that the socialist countries will let themselves be "worked to death with armaments." The fact is that the concept of letting the socialist countries break down through the necessity to intensify their armaments amounts to reviving the plans that imperialism has often hatched in the various periods of Soviet history and that have been applied to our socialist community, following World War II. These plans have never succeeded and will not succeed now. Each time they have been reactivated, the costs of armament madness had to be born not only by the peoples, economies, and living standards of the socialist countries, but also to the full extent by the peoples of the capitalist and developing countries, despite the super profits gleaned by the monopolies living on armaments.

The nuclear era is now 40 years old. In this period the destructive potential of the nuclear arsenals in the world has grown some 1.5 million times compared with the potential of the Hiroshima bomb. This alone illustrates the unprecedented danger now facing mankind. The stakes are enormous: Either the arms race will continue and the threat of war will grow, or the world chooses the road to ever greater universal security and peace. "It is only together that we can survive or perish," M. Gorbachev said recently.

This is the background of the plan for the "star wars" that the Reagan Administration continues to promote with such stubbornness and to insist that this is the defense concept. However, this is arrant falsehood. A cursory look at the history of the age-old competition between the "sword" and the "shield" demonstrates that qualitative improvements in the defense system have as a rule induced countries to use the "sword" and the means of attack because they have created the conviction that the sword never fails. The fact is that the means of attack and defense are a single whole. Many statements, many propaganda features, and the U.S. and NATO strategic doctrines, with which the world public is familiar, show that the creation of the space system of combating missiles launched by the other side involves the plans for launching with impunity the missiles of one's own side. This is precisely the meaning of the concept of the "star wars," and it is not necessary to prove what its further implementation could mean and what dangers it could pose.

The weapons already deployed can completely destroy our globe and, of course, mankind. Militarization of space will increase this unprecedented threat many times over. This is what makes the struggle against the implementation of these plans so important. This is now the basic target of all peace efforts in the world.

"Ideological premises" are now being intensively created for the plan for "star wars," the MX missiles, and the deployment of new weapons in Western countries on the basis of the "crusade against their empire," which President Reagan and similar politicians identify with the USSR and the socialist community. This kind of ideological approach to international relations is

becoming a crucial obstacle along the road to dialogue, meaningful negotiations, and decisions that are beneficial to peace.

The questioning of the Yalta and Potsdam agreements and of the fundamental item of the CSCE Final Act--the recognition of the legal and political-territorial bases of the European peace order that was established as a result of nations' victory over Hitlerism--is the central point of that ideological approach.

Realizing the unprecedented scale of threats to peace created by Washington's policy adopted at the end of the seventies and the beginning of the eighties, we are all the more motivated to praise and support the great clan of the peace offensive launched by the USSR, its party, and personally, its General Secretary M. Gorbachev. [passage omitted on most recent Soviet peace actions]

In view of its dramatic history and its important contribution to the building of peace, Poland feels that it has a particular responsibility to participate actively in the building of a Europe without wars. For Poles there is nothing more unequivocal than the preservation of conditions of peaceful work and peaceful development, than strengthening the security and position of our country in the world and increasing the weight its voice carries on crucial present-day problems which concern the socialist community as well as the entire international community. [passage omitted on Poland's peace efforts in the last 40 years]

Our national and state interests completely overlap with the interests of socialism and peace. An important section of the front in the struggle for a world without wars, for the elimination of the nuclear threat, for the victory of goodwill and reason, lies in our country. Poland is the largest and most heavily populated of the Soviet Union's allies, it lies in the heart of Europe and is an important factor in the strength of the CEMA and the Warsaw Pact. Let Poland be weighed down with political and economic difficulties, let Poland be turbulent, unstable, and weak--that was the role assigned to our country in the strategy implemented by the White House and the Pentagon during the course of the dramatic events at the beginning of the 1980s. It is becoming more and more obvious to every impartial observer that what happened in Poland and what is continuing to happen in Poland has made a complete fiasco of these plans. Without the people, by leaving us aside or working against us, nothing can be achieved--this is the conclusion that can be drawn from recent experience.

The sooner the advocates of interference in our affairs realize this, the greater the prospects of an improvement in mutual relations.

The hopes of revanchist and revisionist forces beyond the Elbe have been dashed yet again. They had counted on a Poland ridden with internal strife and struggling with every increasing difficulties become a "bent sapling" susceptible to the intentions harboured against our most vital national interests, against the political and territorial status quo and the whole balance of forces in Europe, against peace on our continent. If apart from these voices new drives aimed at a normalization of relations between Poland

and the FRG have emerged, if new constructive political forces, which proceed from political realities, have become activated there, then it must be recognized that this is the result of the attitude assumed by the greater part of Polish society in recent years. This is another contribution to the reply to the question about what the individual citizen, or the workforce or social group can do for the security of its fatherland and peace in Europe and the world.

In casting millions of votes our nation placed great tasks before the new Sejm. Without a doubt the PRON electoral declaration, which set out these tasks in a clear and comprehensible manner, will serve as a signpost for the new parliament.

Socialism, and peace, the international solidarity of working peoples, social progress and the building of a world without wars--these ideas are indissolubly linked. History has proven this and the contemporary world provides confirmation of this. And undoubtedly the future will also provide illustrations of the truth of this.

The world of unimaginable dangers might become a world in which peace will obtain, in which the ideas of coexistence, detente, and international cooperation will have won a definite victory. This calls for a determined struggle, the overcoming of enormous difficulties, and the solution of extraordinarily complicated tasks. Our party, the workers' class and society, and the PPR will not spare efforts to ensure that precisely this prospect is the one that predominates. In light of the experience acquired in the 68 years since the October Revolution, and in the 40 years since the victory over fascism, such a prospect is a realistic one.

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POLITICS

POLAND

SZCZECIN WORKERS MARK 1970 'TRAGIC EVENTS' ANNIVERSARY

LD171331 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1105 GMT 17 Dec 85

[Teodor Baranowski Szczecin report]

[Text] Fifteen years ago, on 17 December 1970, tragic events took place in Szczecin, connected with the just protest of the working class against the distortions in the sociopolitical and economic life of the country.

Today, on the anniversary of those events, the Szczecin shipyard workers honor the memory of those who died in December 1970. It is almost 9 o'clock [0800 GMT]. In front of the commemorative plaque, by the main gate of the Adolf Warski shipyard, a fairly large group of workers from this largest of workplaces in Western Pomerania: They each come forward and lay bunches of flowers at the foot of the plaque--representatives of the management, Party, union and youth organizations, the Shipyard Council of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth, as well as workers delegations from all the departments of the shipyard.

The homage paid to the memory of the December 1970 victims has yet another dimension: It means that there is no longer room for a return to a divergence between words and deeds, ideology and practice, such as, in times past, undermined the principles of our system. That is why, among other things, it is so important that such events as December 1970 should not be erased from our social consciousness, nor their causes or their effects.

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POLITICS

POLAND

PZPR IDEOLOGICAL COMMISSION MEETING

AU191301 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 13 Nov 85 pp 1, 7

[Lech Winiarski report]

[Text] The PZPR Central Committee Ideological Commission met on 12 November under the chairmanship of Jozef Czyrek, Politburo member and Central Committee secretary. First of all, the sociopolitical situation since the Sejm election and the resultant tasks for the ideological front were discussed. Jerzy Majka [head of the Central Committee Information Department and recently appointed editor in chief of TRYBUNA LUDU] presented an assessment prepared on this topic by the Central Committee Information Department.

Both this assessment and the lively discussion during the meeting pointed to the growth in society's feeling of civic responsibility toward state affairs, its stabilization, and the perpetuation of the positive consequences of the policy of renewal. This is an expression of confidence in the line of the Ninth PZPR Congress.

All this has affected the Sejm election results, which were better than those of the people's council elections. The point at present is to use the support of citizens in order to enhance ideological consciousness and permit a better understanding of the fact that a better tomorrow depends on the consolidation of socialist transformations. It was that that one must not succumb to complacency nor rest on one's laurels. One should also realize that the political adversary is not giving up his struggle.

The ideological front is faced with the need to develop businesslike discussion on the subject of the role of the state, how to improve its structures, and on the functioning of the mechanisms of socialist democracy. This requires greater propaganda activity and agitation by all party members, not only the PZPR activists.

The need was also pointed out to increase influence over the young generation, to bring ways of speaking to young people up to date and, in particular, to take their needs and aspirations into consideration. This should be reflected in ideological-educational work prior to the 10th PZPR Congress. The need to raise the quality of writing, especially in weeklies, was also mentioned.

The competent solving of economic and social problems is the most important matter during the creation of a favorable climate, followed by an examination of the circa 40,000 concrete suggestions made during the election campaign and the adoption of those that are suitable.

Next, Janusz Janicki, deputy director of the Central Committee Ideological Department, discussed the basic points of a developed system of party training. The draft of such a system has been given to all members of the Ideological Commission. Based on the experience so far, this system foresees the continuation of such forms of training as the evening university courses of Marxism-Leninism (WUML), schools for worker aktive, training meetings run by primary party organizations, and so on. The new training methods envisaged include schools for rural aktive, teams for studying the rudiments of Marxism-Leninism, and ideological seminars.

The aim of the envisaged innovations is to shape the means to independently assess current socioeconomic and political phenomena in the light of and on the basis of Marxist-Leninist methodology.

The following persons spoke during the meeting: Jozef Woloch, Jerzy Wilk, Woldzimirz Sokorski, Czeslaw Stepien, Tadeusz Walichnowski, Julian Kraus, Gisela Pawlowska, Ludwik Jaczyszyn, Ryszard Brodowicz, Stanislaw Habczyk, Florian Ratajczak, Kazimierz Miniur, Wieslaw Bek, and Witold Skrabalak.

At the end, Comrade Jozef Czyrek spoke.

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POLITICS

POLAND

BRIEFS

**LIGHT INDUSTRY MINISTER IN UK**--Professor Edward Grzywa, the minister for chemical and light industry, visited Great Britain for 3 days at the invitation of the minister for trade, Paul Channon. Prospects for cooperation of the chemical industry with British consortiums were discussed. It was pointed out that there are very good possibilities for increasing turnovers. The achievements of British firms in the area of scientific and research work and in energy economies were discussed. [Text] [Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2300 GMT 15 Nov 85 LD] /7358

**BARCIKOWSKI RECEIVES EX-SERVICEMEN**--A meeting of ex-servicemen's organizations from the socialist states has ended in Warsaw. The chairmen of the delegations were received by Deputy chairman of the Council of State, Kazimierz Barcikowski. The role of ex-servicemen's movement in the struggle for peace, detente, and cooperation between nations, as well as the need for unity in the face of dangers of the present international situation were discussed. [Text] [Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0500 GMT 14 Nov 85 LD] /7358

**SD DELEGATION IN BERLIN**--A delegation of the Central Committee of the Democratic Party (SD) has ended a 2-day visit to the GDR capital. In a conversation with a journalist of the POLISH PRESS AGENCY (PAP) Tadeusz Witold Mlynchak, talking about the course of the visit, assessed in a positive way, the cooperation to date of the SD with the German Liberal-Democratic Party, at whose invitation the Polish delegation stayed in Berlin. [Text] [Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2100 GMT 15 Nov 85 LD] /7358

**SZCZECIN SAVINGS**--Although October was savings week, Szczecin residents did not show greater interest in paying cash into the PKO [Polish Security Bank] savings bank. During last month, savings deposits grew by around 110 million zloty, more or less the same sum as in the remaining months. In our savings books, or in the form of other savings, we have 33 billion, 400 million zloty, which in per capita terms is around 30,000 zloty per resident. [Text] [Szczecin Domestic Service in Polish 1615 GMT 13 Nov 85 LD] /7358

**NON-FOOD ITEMS SALES GROWTH**--The proportion of non-food items on sale grows systematically. At present it already exceeds 520/0. At the beginning of the year this index amounted to around 500/0. This bears witness to the ever better supplying of the market, and to the ever growing wages. However, Szczecin residents continue to spend too much on alcoholic beverages. Whereas, during the current year, 33.5 billion zloty was spent on purchasing food, as much as 11.5 billion was spent on alcohol. This is 110 percent more than last year. [Text] [Szczecin Domestic Service in Polish 1615 GMT 13 Nov 85 LD] /7358

**PZPR'S WOZNIAK AT COOPERATIVES' CONGRESS**--The tenth congress of producer cooperative delegates has begun in Warsaw. A delegation of the Central Union of Producer Cooperatives (CZSP), led by Chairman of the CZSP Council Wiktor Sielanko was received by Zbigniew Messner, chairman of the Council of Ministers, this morning. The cooperative activists briefed the premier on the aims of the congress and the development plans of producer cooperatives. The congress began its proceedings at 10 a.m. The almost half a million-strong ranks of cooperative workers are represented by 452 delegates. They will assess the activity of the union and its self-governing bodies, and also adopt a program for the nearest future. Marian Wozniak, Politburo member and secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, and Deputy Premier Jozef Koziol, are among the invited guests. [No video available] [Text] [Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1620 GMT 18 Nov 85 LD] /7358

**CRIME DECREASE**--A significant decrease in the level of criminality, to a degree unrecorded for many years, took place in October this year. Some 31,800 preliminary procedures were begun, that is almost 14 percent fewer than during the same period last year. This data refers to common (pospolite) crimes. The number of instances of criminal acts (przestepczosc kryminalna) decreased by almost 16 percent. On the other hand the number of economic crimes has gone up. Instances of preparatory procedures rose by 2 1/2 percent in comparison with a year ago. [Text] [Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1300 GMT 19 Nov 85 LD] /7358

**MOKRZYSZCZAK AT SZCZECIN PZPR SESSION**--The tasks of the members of the organization of the PZPR in the implementation of the resolution of the 20th plenum of the party's Central Committee were discussed during today's plenary session of the PZPR Voivodship Committee in Szczecin. Participants included invited guests, among them Wlodzimierz Mokrzyszczak, candidate Politburo member of the PZPR Central Committee, secretaries of large party enterprise committees, members leading workers, youth and non-party activists. [Text] [Szczecin Domestic Service in Polish 1615 GMT 25 Nov 85 LD] /7358

**JARUZELSKI MEETS POLITICAL SCIENCES SOCIETY CHAIRMAN**--Wojciech Jaruzelski has met with the leadership of the Polish Society of Political Sciences. Its chairman, professor Czeslaw (Mojasiewicz), briefed the first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee on the activities to date and immediate plans of the society, which is celebrating its 25th anniversary. Wojciech Jaruzelski stressed that the Polish society of political sciences during the whole period of its activity, and even in the most difficult period of recent years, did not break the statutory principles and did not abandon the path of services to socialist Poland. [Text] [Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1300 GMT 26 Nov 85 LD] /7358



**SZCZECIN TRADE UNION STATISTICS**--Of the 768 works enterprises entitled to set up trade unions, 762 have availed themselves of this possibility. Szczecin Voivodship's trade union organizations have 163,000 members, that is, 50 percent of the total employed in these enterprises. The highest proportions of unionists are to be found in socialized agriculture and education and the lowest in the labor cooperative service sectors. [Text] [Szczecin Domestic Service in Polish 0600 GMT 28 Nov 85 LD] /7358

**CZYREK ADDRESSES PARTY LECTURERS**--Analyzing the international situation at a meeting with Central Committee lecturers, Jozef Czyrek emphasized that, thanks to the peace offensive developed by the Soviet Union and the socialist states, it is entering a stage of detente. With full support for this policy, Poland's participation is more and more active in actions aimed at improving world situation and strengthening dialogue, detente and cooperation. Of particular importance are the recent visits by Wojciech Jaruzelski to New York, Arab countries and Paris, and his talks with prominent foreign politicians visiting Poland, including with Willy Brandt. They consolidate our country's international position. [Text] [Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0500 GMT 14 Dec 85 LD] /7358

**BARCIKOWSKI AT TUCHOLA HOUSING CONFERENCE**--Two-day debates at an all-Poland conference, devoted to finding solutions to housing problems in small towns, have ended in Tuchola. A conclusion was reached that, as far as small localities were concerned, one-family housing construction was best, reinforced by essential, for social reasons, communal and enterprise development. Kazimierz Barcikowski, who is participating in the conference, drew attention to the fact that the current state credit policy regarding one-family housing construction constitutes a significant help for investors, who can further lower building costs by making use of locally available materials. Kazimierz Barcikowski also emphasized the significant importance of conforming construction to regional architectural traditions, and the need to make greater use of social initiatives for speeding up work when building new housing estates. [Text] [Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1900 GMT 7 Dec 85 LD] /7358

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POLITICS

YUGOSLAVIA

CROATIAN JUDGE DISCUSSES POLITICAL CRIME

Zagreb DANAS in Serbo-Croatian 5 Nov 85 pp 18-21

[Article by Zorica Nikolic: "Whom Are We Prosecuting in the Criminal Courts"]

[Text] Do we have too few or too many political crimes?

If we "ask" the statistics about this, they will not prove to be a very good adviser in evaluating the relationship between the number of criminal charges and the political situation in society. For example, they say that just in advance of the counterrevolutionary events in Kosovo, that is, in the year just preceding the hostile activity of the Irredenta, the number of political crimes detected and prosecuted in that province was at its lowest--indeed it fell even to 75 percent of what it had been a year earlier.

At the same time it is well known that there are constant speculations abroad based on statistics, especially concerning the number of political prisoners in Yugoslavia, i.e., the percentage of political crime (which incidentally is low, more accurately negligible: about 0.5 percent of the criminals convicted) is constantly exaggerated by inventing numbers and using various other statistical machinations.

The so-called verbal crimes are the most welcome delicacy for the hostile propaganda against the SFRY (at one time it made a real sensation in the form of a petition written in the period of Tito's illness and death seeking absolute abolition of all verbal crimes and general amnesty for all those convicted of political crimes); these crimes serve them as "evidence" of the alleged undemocratic nature of our system and of its supposed backwardness compared to the achievements of bourgeois democracy and legislation. The bugbear of petitioning, which for several years now--since the notorious petition of 103 "university professors, students, lawyers, and writers" which became public at the end of 1980--has accompanied discussions of the controversial verbal crimes, is, of course, like an "ace in the hole" for malicious people who use it as one of their arguments to express "concern about human rights and freedoms" in our country.

It is therefore no wonder that the crime of hostile propaganda, more accurately, certain forms of that crime as stated in Article 133, Paragraph 1, of the SFRY Criminal Code, which some refer to as "verbal crimes" or even as

"crimes of thought," has for a long time been the center of attention not only of experts, but indeed of a broader public, especially certain intellectual circles, nor that the questions which have been raised in connection with these charges have in addition to their purely legal dimension, a definite political dimension as well

Verba volant, exempla movent, which means: Words fly, but cases prove--says Ivo Korac, judge of the Supreme Court of SR [Socialist Republic] Croatia, whom we asked about the purpose of preparing the study "Problemi inkriminacije neprijateljske propagande u sudskoj praksi" [Problems of Charges of Hostile Propaganda in Court Practice], which a few days ago was on the agenda of a conference of Yugoslav criminal lawyers and criminologists devoted to changes in Yugoslav criminal legislation.

It is unfortunate, Judge Korac argued, that the discussion of that topic has not uncommonly been conducted ex capta, and so this was for us practitioners a challenge and a reasonable pretext for us to become involved in it by surveying the actual state of affairs. We were offended as judges by the constant imputation that some sort of innocent people are being subjected to criminal prosecution, but we also wanted to show whether legislation in criminal law needs to be changed in some respect de lege ferenda (in the law which would be adopted).

#### Slanderers of Society

And what does the controversial Article 133, or its most controversial Paragraph 1, actually say? That article contains two descriptions of crimes: classic high treason (an appeal for forcible change of the constitutional order) and the crime of thought. The demand to abolish the last part of that article is argued on the basis of the fact that it restricts the freedom of thought and discussion of public affairs guaranteed by the Constitution, it gives the courts the power to decide what is false and what is true concerning sociopolitical conditions in the country, and it essentially restricts the possibility for the public to monitor and criticize what government agencies do.

Judge Ivo Korac feels that the "results of the practical application of the basic crimes, including the one which pertains to what is referred to as slanderous propaganda (whose form, he explains, consists of 'malicious and untruthful portrayal of sociopolitical conditions in the country'), demonstrate, contrary to certain public assertions which have been made, that the regulation, in and of itself and correctly interpreted, does not in any way stifle the basic human right to the freedom of thought and opinion." There are no grounds, then, to amend the law. This, of course, does not preclude the inevitable social risk which unfortunately can never be altogether avoided, just as it can never be certain that at some point the regulation might perhaps be interpreted and applied too broadly. It is a notorious fact, Korac adds, that over the long history of jurisprudence, as a consequence of "judicial errors," there have been wrong decisions, indeed even with respect to standard definitions such as larceny and the like, for example, but still it never occurred to anyone to decriminalize the regulation itself because of the mistaken action of the court in some case. That would be to turn things upside down!

Incidentally, numerous judicial practitioners, warning that one should be very cautious with any possible repeal of that article, have mentioned that the courts (in the immense majority) work very conscientiously, cautiously and painstakingly concerning these crimes in particular, and it rarely or almost never happens that someone is convicted without good reason.

Speaking about the group of so-called slanderers of society, "in which a sizable proportion of the crimes (11 out of 24, or 46 percent) cannot be classified with the necessary reliability either as propagation of Ustashism, Chetnikism, or other similar ideologies, nor of any other less extreme nationalisms," but also mentioning that we "must not be misled by the figures on the political coloring of hostile expression in it (that group) with respect to the real political orientation or allegiance of its perpetrators," Korac enumerates: "For example, in conversations held in the household, in the workplace, but most often in some public bar or restaurant, some of the perpetrators said that the government leadership was 'larcenous' (cases such and such), others that 'society is rotten,' 'the government is powerless,' the sociopolitical system is 'bad,' that 'false propaganda' is being disseminated in the schools, that this kind of society must 'go to ruin,' and still others that self-management is an 'imaginary formula,' that is, a 'lie and deception.'..."

It might seem that the law is after all too strict, i.e., that it wrongly interprets that a man must "be careful how he barks even in his own dwelling," and that one simply cannot say "that our conditions are bad."

However, that is not the case. The folders containing the court cases are the best confirmation of this. The "conversations" referred to were not mere trifles, but, on the contrary, sentences which, as the popular saying goes, no one would touch with a 10-foot pole.

But let us go back to the figures. In all, there have been 76 final convictions of adults under Article 133, Paragraph 1, of the SFRY Criminal Code, which is the real topic of Korac's study. That number represents only 0.7 per 1,000 when compared to the total number of final convictions for all crimes over that same period of time (1980-1984) in SR Croatia--125,498 persons!

For the first of the basic forms of the crime of hostile propaganda, which some authors have referred to as the "crime of calling for antigovernmental resistance," there have been 26 final convictions out of the 72 persons tried (36 percent), while for the other form, referred to as "slander of society" or "slandorous propaganda," 24 out of 72 were convicted (33 percent). The other 22 persons (31 percent) received final convictions of the crime of hostile propaganda, that is, for both these forms treated as a single crime. This is an especially interesting datum for Judge Ivo Korac. Why? First of all, Korac argues, one can conclude that almost one-third of the perpetrators of the crime of hostile propaganda do not confine themselves merely to malicious and untruthful portrayal of sociopolitical conditions in the country, but in their expressions, which are mostly verbal (15 of the 22 perpetrators, or 68 percent), they go even further, calling for or inciting the overthrow of the rule of the working class and the working people, for an unconstitutional change of the socialist system, and for a shattering of brotherhood and unity and the



equality of the nationalities and ethnic minorities (8 out of 22, or 36 percent), or only for actions against certain of those protected institutions.

Of course, he concludes, the greater intensity of the attack on the protected social values has been reflected in the magnitude of the penalties pronounced or established: Out of a total of 16, 5 (31 percent) received a sentence greater than the specific minimum (than the 1 year of imprisonment prescribed for that crime) over the range from 1 year to the maximum of 2 years. The perpetrators in the first group (those who only called for or instigated achievement of the aims enumerated in Article 133, Paragraph 1) and also those in the second group (who not only maliciously and falsely portrayed sociopolitical conditions in the country) received less severe sentences.

As for the content of the propaganda activity, here the predominant expressions are based on Ustasha or similar ideology (all of 14 out of 22, or 64 percent of the perpetrators). For example, four perpetrators who were singing as they danced during the celebration of some religious holiday not only maliciously and untruthfully portrayed sociopolitical conditions in the country, but openly called for genocide, and they accompanied all that, obviously in order to remove any possible confusion, with explicit personal allegiance to Ustashism.

Two cases are particularly interesting among those in this category; in those cases the perpetrators started from positions of Croatian nationalism and proclaimed solidarity with the Albanian Irredenta in SAP [Socialist Autonomous Province] Kosovo against the Serbs, "as exploiters of both the one and the other," which, as is well known, coincides with the policy of the Ustasha emigre community, which is shoulder to shoulder with the Albanian fascists (Ballists), etc. So, the most interesting, if not the most important. Korac's conclusion: If we add to all this that among these 22 perpetrators there was not a single distinguished intellectual or public figure, since this classification cannot be applied to a teacher (who was also an epileptic), a graduate in theology (a schizophrenic), and a Roman Catholic priest--then we see no occasion on this basis for making any sort of approaches of the charges of hostile propaganda itself as an alleged instrument for suppressing the freedom of thought.

#### False Operations

With respect to content hostile propaganda based on ideologies of the fascist type are dominant even in the group first mentioned (25 out of the total of 26 cases had that coloring, and Ustashism was far out ahead of all the others--77 percent as against 23 percent).

Mainly, then, it is a question of perpetrators who openly and flagrantly call for fratricidal warfare. For example, (case such and such), one returnee, amnestied for his prior hostile activity while he was abroad, defacing the area in front of the monument to the victims of the fascist terror on the eve of Fighters' Day, shouted to his fellow Serbs who participated in the National Liberation War that they were "traitors" and threatened that they would "burn again" and that they would "prepare them a bloody supper."

Along with these quite recent and increasingly frequent forms of hostile propaganda, reference was also made to the broadcasting and replaying and distribution of audio cassettes containing Ustasha songs and speeches made on particular occasions by distinguished leaders of the Ustasha emigre community, among them in particular a speech by Miro Baresic, who killed our ambassador to Sweden Vladimir Rolovic. We might also mention a barber who in his barber-shop gave customers a leaflet to read which had been brought in from abroad and carried the terroristic messages of the so-called "Croatian National Council."

Another statement of fascistoid character, which is why Korac also mentioned it, was made by a perpetrator of Albanian nationality who had returned from abroad and who in agitating for the "Republic of Kosovo," said among other things that it should extend "from Slovenia to Macedonia," and also that the rest of the non-Albanian population "should go back over the Carpathians where they came from."

It is interesting, however, that not a single one of these perpetrators was found to be of unsound mind, and that they even included three propagators of the Nazi fascist ideology of Hitler's war criminals. One, Korac said, sketched in his workplace as many as 25 swastikas, another not only demonstratively wore the "German Nazi eagle" on his work clothing, but in conversations with his work fellows also glorified Hitler's fascist system, while a third sketched a poster which portrayed a capturing of Partizans and also included Hitler's image, which he showed to guests invited to his house. But particular mention should be made of the fact that the perpetrators in this category of the crime of hostile propaganda did not include, Korac remarks, any intellectuals with the profile referred to by those who advocate its decriminalization. Only three of all the 26 perpetrators had intellectual occupations--two economists and one geologist, and none had any reputation whatsoever.

It should also be said that the motive or purpose of the hostile activity covered in the study was most frequently the shattering of brotherhood and unity and the equality of the nationalities and ethnic minorities, and either on its own or together with other motives this figured in 16 cases, or 62 percent.

#### A Motive in Common

But matters are a bit different in the group of what are called slanderers of society with respect to the figures on motives or goals of the hostile propaganda. That is, whereas in the first two groups the goals or motives were stated explicitly, in this group we encounter them in only 13 out of the 24 verdicts (54 percent of the cases).

In the diffuse segment, Korac concludes, in which statements made from dogmatic positions are interlaced with those which are just the opposite, and which might be said to favor a restoration of the bourgeois system in the country, all of them still have something in common--the indubitable "anti-Titoism," i.e., a desire to turn the people addressed against self-managed and socialist Yugoslavia as such.

Among the cases which in their content could still be classified as propagation of Ustashism and other extreme nationalistic ideologies (they amounted to 13 of the total of 24 cases, or 54 percent), along with the well-known slanderous clichés about "withdrawal of money from Croatia," and the untruthful and malicious portrayal of the counterrevolutionary events in Kosovo, as well as certain ideologically similar resistance called for to "disenfranchisement" in SAP Vojvodina and SR Bosnia-Herzegovina, there were cases such as the presentation of untruthful reasons why Djilas and Rankovic were in their time removed from positions in the party and government, accompanied by a slandering of President Tito, and then expression of the argument about the role of the Chetniks as "saviours" during the occupation ("if it had not been for them, the Germans would have destroyed everything"), which occurred during a conversation about Dobrica Cosic, and especially two cases of hostile propaganda activity which included a distorted portrayal of the situation in particular sectors of society (in jurisprudence among others), accompanied by a reference to Hitler's Nazi and Franco's Phalangist system as the paradigm of a social system or system of government.

That group would also include the cases of malicious and untruthful portrayal of sociopolitical conditions in the country from positions of extreme Croatian nationalism by Vlado Gotovac and Dr Marko Veselica, well known ever since the 1971 counterrevolutionary events in SR Croatia. They were of particular interest to Korac's examination "in view of their status as intellectuals and also in view of the way in which they acted in the form of 'free expression of their views concerning the position of the Croatian nationality in the SFRY,' that is, in the form of 'exposition of the results of their scientific research.'"

Gotovac's and Veselica's activity was judged to be untruthful and malicious portrayal of sociopolitical conditions in the country by the District Court of Zagreb in the first instance and by the Supreme Court of Croatia as the court in the second instance, Korac recalled, and they did not accept the argument of their defense that their statements remained within the limits of guaranteed constitutional freedom of thought and expression, in which the Federal Court concurred in acting upon extraordinary legal remedies.

It should be said in conclusion that we have been referring to an analysis of judicial practice over the last 5 years in SR Croatia, but that, the authors of the study feel, still does not detract from the general Yugoslav importance of the results obtained, although in certain parts of the country, it is quite understandable, there are certain departures because of the specific conditions (for example, in SAP Kosovo), resulting from what might be called differing social situations.

7045

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POLITICS

YUGOSLAVIA

## REPUBLICS VARY IN PROSECUTION OF VERBAL CRIMES

Zagreb DANAS in Serbo-Croatian 5 Nov 85 pp 19-20

[Article by Djuro Zagorac: "Indictments in the Drawer"]

[Text] The Committee of the Assembly for Jurisprudence recently held a "mini" debate as an overture to the main debate which has been initiated by Batric Jovanovic, delegate in the Federal Chamber of the SFRY Assembly, (and supported by other delegates of the Federal Chamber) concerning an analysis of the Federal Public Prosecutor's Office devoted to the causes of considerable differences that have occurred with respect to the number of criminal indictments rejected concerning political crimes. The prosecutor's office, that is, the prosecutor, was called upon to explain that occurrence to the delegates in some detail. There are, that is, assurances that the prosecutors' offices are not conducting a uniform policy with respect to political crimes, that the differences from one sociopolitical community to another are drastic, that people are being convicted under an indictment in one republic, while criminal proceedings are not instituted at all for the same act in another republic, and that in this respect citizens do not have equal rights. To what extent do assertions like this correspond to the actual state of affairs?

Let us quote from the analysis that was submitted: In 1984 the competent public prosecutors' offices in the SFRY acted on criminal charges pertaining to political crimes against a total of 848 persons (763 were charged last year and 85 were carried over from 1983). Of the 763 persons against whom charges were filed, 501 of the cases concerned verbal crimes, or more than 65 percent!

The delegates were especially interested in the rejected indictments. What do they consist of and are the criteria from one republic or province to another the same and uniform? Milos Bakic, federal public prosecutor, cautioned that one should not even look for any sort of perfect uniformity, since it was practically impossible. The Federal Public Prosecutor's Office, likewise, has neither the capability nor the need to investigate the rejected indictments of the other prosecutors' offices, Bakic emphasized. He feels that the criteria concerning that uniformity in enforcement of federal law are also guaranteed through a special instruction which was issued in 1982, and that there are no grounds for public concern.



Verbal crimes were dominant in the indictments rejected, it has been asserted, and that in more than 95 percent of the cases. It is the general characteristic of the rejected indictments that they had to do with very minor crimes, and only exceptionally did they concern serious political crimes. Last year there were eight of those "serious" rejected indictments. In any case, the prosecutors' offices rejected the largest number of charges for the crime of arousing ethnic, racial, and religious enmity, which represented the greatest number. In second place were charges of the crime of offending the reputation of the SFRY, which represented 32 rejected accusations. Here we should emphasize that every charge is processed by gathering information or by undertaking certain investigatory actions. It is usually said that even the "serious" charges end up in the drawers of the prosecutor when certain "big shots" are involved. Under the law, however, every charge must be processed, and only then is it filed away in the drawer.

The conclusion can be drawn from the statistical data that the prosecutors have been "most tender" toward citizens in Slovenia (31 charges, 18 rejected), while they have been most severe in Kosovo (314 charges, 11 rejected). Without a more detailed examination of the charges, it is truly difficult to assert whether the criteria are uniform, that is, whether citizens have equal rights with respect to the federal Criminal Code. The Federal Public Prosecutor's Office explains the specific figures for Slovenia and Kosovo in terms of the fact that there are many more rejected charges where the crimes are less serious, the verbal crimes, and fewer where they are more serious, which is the case with the crimes in Kosovo. Delegate Ema Haglic, incidentally, thinks that the penalties for the verbal crimes are often too severe. She gave the example of a high official in Slovenia who had criticized penal policy in the republic (the most lenient in the country) by saying that before the war he fought against the system of the old Yugoslavia and received a sentence of 2 years for that, and now a penalty like that is pronounced for "coffeehouse jokes."

Who is it who mostly files charges with the prosecutors' offices, who is it who most often is "pursuing" offenders in our country with respect to political crimes?

Individuals are the most frequent source of charges in which criminal prosecution is demanded. The same thing is true with the composition of the charges rejected: the share of individuals is higher than 48 percent, that of law enforcement agencies 40 percent, while all others account for the remainder. The greatest number of charges were filed by individuals in Serbia proper--more than 70 percent, and their lowest proportion was in Kosovo--about 18 percent; in Croatia the share of individuals was slightly more than 23 percent. The prosecutors' offices are grateful to vigorous and conscientious citizens, but there have also been things here which are disturbing. Certain citizens ("informers") often file charges for verbal crimes against persons they have been having trouble with. The purpose of this kind of prosecution, it is warned, is to pursue personal interests and to obtain personal satisfaction. That is why, they say, 48 charges were rejected last year without any investigatory or other action even being taken. They were immediately filed away in the drawer.

It is quite normal, informed people say, for there to be nonuniformity in enforcement of the Criminal Code in our country. The same crime cannot be treated equally in all regions of the country, since the danger to society from such crimes also differs. Ethnic enmity, for example, cannot be treated the same in a multinational community as it is in an ethnically compact community.

Opinions were also expressed in the debate to the effect that prosecutors have not been vigorous enough, that by and large they wait, that they themselves file only 4 percent of the criminal charges concerning political crimes. The example was mentioned of certain books, specifically "Saveznici i jugoslavenska ratna drama" [The Allies and the Drama of the War in Yugoslavia] by Veselin Djuretic, to which Bakic replied that the prosecutors are not censors, that they do not get the books and all printed matter for examination until after they have appeared on the market.

There are those who would like to think that our crisis has been hastened by the divulging of all possible secrets and that much of that "sensitive" material should be kept in the drawer for more peaceful days. Yet that is a great error. The public and arguments can become the most acceptable arbiter under our conditions, indeed even concerning certain "insoluble" problems.

7045

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## SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

## BULGARIA

## SUMMARIES OF MEDICAL RESEARCH INTO ENVIRONMENTAL CONCERNS

Sofia HIGIENA I ZDRAVEOPAZVANE in Bulgarian No 4, 1985 pp 55, 60, 64, 71, 75, 83, 86, 91, 96, 100

[The text of each article is available in Bulgarian]

[Text] E. HADZITODOROVA, A. ANDREEV--STUDY ON THE EFFECT OF THE PHOSPHORORGANIC INSECTICIDE CHLORACETOPON ON EMBRYOGENESIS AND POSTNATAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE PROGENY OF ALBINO RATS

Summary. The effect of the newly synthesized Bulgarian phosphororganic insecticide chloracetofon (ChAF) was studied on the embryo resis and physical development of the progeny of albino rats. In order to study the effect on embryogenesis, the pregnant animals were treated once during various testation terms of 200 mg/kg (LD<sub>50</sub>) and 40 mg/kg (1/10 LD<sub>50</sub>) and daily from 1st to 21st day of pregnancy with doses of 40 mg/kg and 8 mg/kg (150 LD<sub>50</sub>). The following indices were followed up: average number of corpora lutea and implantations of the females, embryonal morbidity rate, weight of fetuses and placentae, placental index, external anomalies. No unfavourable effect was established on the embryonal development under both experimental conditions. The post-natal development of the rat progeny was followed up, that was treated in 1st and 21st gestation day with 40,8 and 4 mg/kg. No differences were established in the outcome of pregnancy and the state of the newly born and viability of progeny both of control and experimental animals. A light retardation in the physical development of the little rats was established from the group with 40 mg/kg, manifested in lower body weight as compared with the controls by 7th and 30th day after birth as well as a delayed opening of the eye slits.

E. KOEN, G. BOBEV--SOURCES, CAUSES AND DEGREE OF POLLUTION OF THE WORKING ENVIRONMENT IN OUR COUNTRY BY CADMIUM AEROSOLS IN SOME ENTERPRISES OF NON-FERROUS METALLURGY AND MACHINE-BUILDING

Summary. Pollution with cadmium aerosols, is elucidated in the paper, in working environment of enterprises of non-ferrous metallurgy and some enterprises of machine-building in our country with a view to the prognosis of the occupational risk of affection of the workers in contract with cadmium aerosols.

The conditions, methodology and methods, according to which the studies were carried out conform with BSS in force in the country.

The occupational risk for the basic technological operations in lead and copper productions is classified depending on the established concentrations of cadmium aerosols. Whereas in the old plants a potential occupational risk exists, the concentrations of cadmium aerosols during all technological operations, in the new plants, are under MAC. At present, no risk exists also with the new production of electrotransducer elements.

In conclusion of the work, regardless of the degree of occupational risk, consideration given to the half-period of excretion of cadmium out of human organism--30 years and its high toxicity, the main measures for prophylaxis and sanitation of the working environment--technological, sanitarytechnical and organizational--are presented.

L. MIHAJLOVA-DOCEVA, K. KOLEV--EXPERIMENTAL STUDIES ON THE BIOLOGICAL ACTIVITY OF TALC RAW MATERIALS USED IN OUR COUNTRY

Summary. The contradictory data in literature about the biological activity of talc and the wide usage of polymineral talc raw materials necessitated the experimental studies on medical and technical talc, used in our country. The mineral-chemical studies carried out on the two types of talc established a considerable asbestos content in the Bulgarian asbestos raw material used for the experiment (about 6%) and the absence of that component in the medical (imported) talc.

The experiments on animals established the fibrogenic effect of asbestos impure talc, whereas the effect of the medical talc was reduced to the formation of depots with a tendency to incapsulation of the foci.

The results from the experiment with the animals correlate with the data from the epidemiological studies--presence of asbestosis and pleural calcium plaques among the workers, being in contact with the Bulgarian talc raw material.

The biological activity established for the technical talc (containing asbestos) requires a strict observing of the sanitary norms, approved for asbestos-containing dust.

B. NIKIFOROV, L. BALABAEVA, I. PETROV--DATA ON THE EFFECT OF ATMOSPHERIC POLLUTION FROM FERROUS METALLURGY ON THE LEVEL OF HEAVY METALS AND CARBOXYHEMOGLOBIN IN THE BLOOD OF THE POPULATION

Summary. The effect of the atmospheric pollution from ferrous metallurgy was studied on the content of heavy metals and carboxyhemoglobin in the blood of the population without occupational exposure. Lead content was established to be increased, amounting to  $89 \mu\text{g. dl}^{-1}$  and manganese--to  $6.6 \mu\text{g. dl}^{-1}$ , caused by the atmospheric pollution. COHb content ranges about 1 percent on the average, and of cadmium--about  $0.16\text{--}0.23 \mu\text{g. dl}^{-1}$ . The level of Pb and Mn reached in blood is admitted that could be a precondition for the advancement of morbid phenomena. COHb content in blood shows that CO pollution of air is a risk for those suffering from ischemic heart diseases. The higher concentrations of COHb, Pb and Cd in males established, provided grounds to admit the existence of sexual differentiation of the origination of diseases, associated with those noxae.



**B. SIMOVA, S. TERZIEVA, L. CIPILSKA--EFFECT OF HEAVY METALS ON ENZYME ACTIVITY OF SOME SANITARY-INDICATIVE AND PATHOGENIC BACTERIA**

**Summary.** Under condition, close to the natural, the effect of copper, zinc, lead and cadmium was studied within maximum allowable concentrations and concentrations exceeding them 5 to 10 times, on the enzyme activity of *E. coli* and *S. Typhimurium*.

Deviations were established in the activity of the enzymes of both species of bacteria, depending on the kind of metal ions. Most essential was the effect on the enzymes catalase and acid phosphatase, indicating a disorder in the process of oxidation, phosphorylation and protein metabolism.

The possibility of using the bacterial enzymes as a sensitive test for evaluation of the effect of the industrial toxicants on bacteria is discussed, particularly in the cases when changes in their survival do not exist.

**Z. VODICENSKA, F. RAZDOJNIKOVA--CONTENT OF SOME MICROELEMENTS IN BLOOD AND ORGANS OF RATS IN CHRONIC NICKEL INTOXICATION**

**Summary.** The content of copper, zinc, iron and manganese in blood, liver, heart and kidneys of the rats was determined by atom-absorption method in case of chronic, one year long, intoxication with nickel in doses identical or close to the Soviet MAC for nickel in potable water. It was established that nickel in doses 0.0005, 0.005 and 0.05 mg/kg, equal to 1/10 of the Soviet MAC, MAC and 10 MAC in potable water respectively has no effect on the content of the above microelements in blood and the organs studied, but in doses 0.5 mg/kg (100 MAC) it disorders their metabolism in organism. It is presumed that the changes in the content of those microelements lead to disorders in the metabolic processes in organism.

**P. IVANOVA--HYDROXYPROLINE IN URINE OF WORKERS OCCUPATIONALLY EXPOSED TO THE EFFECT OF CADMIUM AND LEAD BEFORE AND AFTER THE ADMINISTRATION OF LOW- AND MODERATELY ESTERIFIED PECTINS**

**Summary.** The increased excretion of hydroxyproline in urine of workers, engaged in the production of non-ferrous metals is discussed as a sign of intensified collagenous catabolism. Fifteen workers were followed up with a longer length of service (18-26 years) before and after the administration of low- and moderately esterified pectins--each kind for one month as an ingredient of fruit jellies and fruit squashes. A reduced excretion of hydroxyproline with urine was observed on the 60th day after pectins administration, suggesting the favorable effect on the intensified bone collagenous metabolism due to long-term work under the effect of heavy metals--cadmium and lead.

**D. JANKOVA, M. BRASHAROVA, S. GANEVA--COPPER CONTENT IN MILKS AND FINISHED FOODS FOR SUCKLINGS USED IN OUR COUNTRY**

**Summary.** Copper content in mother's milk 2/3 diluted yoghurt of cow milk, non-diluted yoghurt, Bebe I, Humana I and Bebe O is respectively 4.46, 3.88, 3.34, 2.75 and 1.55  $\mu\text{mol/kg}$ , on the average. In the finished foods for

sucklings, produced in our country, it is 13.05 and 15.47  $\mu\text{mol/kg}$  fruit vegetable purees with and milk, and 14, 19 and 20.75  $\mu\text{mol/kg}$  resp. In vegetable purees without and with meat. It is rather low--5.82  $\mu\text{mol/kg}$  in the porridge with cheese and butter. During the first three months of life, the expected daily intake of copper for breast-fed children is about the lower limit of the recommendations, given in literature--about 0.8  $\mu\text{mol/kg}$  body mass. As compared with the breast-fed children, it is lower in the bottle-fed ones--about 0.7  $\mu\text{mol/kg}$ , 0.6  $\mu\text{mol/kg}$ , 0.5  $\mu\text{mol/kg}$  and 0.3  $\mu\text{mol/kg}$  when used: yoghurt of cow milk, Bebe I, Humana I and Bebe 0 resp. After feeding on purees the supposed daily import is increased and during the second six months of life, it approaches the recommended optimum.

#### L. SLAVKOVA--COMPARATIVE STUDIES ON NEW NUTRITIVE MEDIA FOR ESTABLISHMENT OF SALMONELLA BACTERIA IN INFANT MILK POWDER

**Summary.** A comparative assessment was carried out on the diagnostic possibilities of some nutritive media, time and temperature of incubation, included in our standard methods and proposed by CMEA, with a view to their unification and recommendation as the most adequate ones for the practice.

The nutritive media were experimented in accordance with the main stages of investigation on Salmonellae in the infant milk powders.

The results reveal that at the first stage of investigation--pre-enrichment in liquid nutritive media, the buffer peptone water (CMEA) proved to be more sensitive as compared with peptone water (BSS) during both temperature regimes. With the testing in solid nutritive media for the second stage of investigation, the agar with phenol red brilliant green (prescribed by CMEA) with cultivation at 37°C, proved to be with better diagnostic possibilities as compared with apocholate citrate agar (BSS).

#### N. OBRETEANOVA, L. MECKUEVA, I. POPOVA--THIAMIN IN OUR MAIN TYPES OF FLOUR AND BREAD

**Summary.** The greatest share of thiamine and some other vitamins from group B, introduced with the food of our population, falls to bread and paste products.

Thiamin content was studied in all three types of wheat flour type 500, 700 and 1150, in rye meal and in the main types of wheat bread produced: "Stara Zagora," "Dobrudza" and "Sofiiski" and ryebread.

The results obtained, illustrated in 2 tables, reveal that the wheat flour type 1150 and "Sofiiski" bread produced with it, were the richest in thiamin. The whiter the wheat flour, the bread respectively, the lower their thiamin content. The rye meal and bread contained half less thiamin as compared with the wheat flour type 1150 and the products from it.

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SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

CHEMICAL INDUSTRY: MAJOR COMBINES DESCRIBE PRODUCTION LINES

Frankfurt FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE ZEITUNG in German 30 Aug 85 p 16

[Article by Hans Herbert Goetz: "GDR Chemical Industry an Important Source of Foreign Exchange, This Branch of Industry Is United in 14 Combines"]

[Text] The fall trade show in Leipzig is primarily a "chemistry show." In the great halls, the 14 large combines which unite the more than 300 firms of the GDR chemical industry, along with their Western competitors, display their new and also their old products. The "giants" among them are linked partly to the old Saxon place names of Leuna, Schkopau, Wolfen and Bitterfeld. A newcomer among them is the petrochemical combine in Schwedt/Oder.

Based on the value of its production, the GDR chemical industry is the GDR's second largest branch of industry, after machinery and vehicle construction; based on its approximately 340,000 employees, the fourth largest. The chemical industry's share of industrial commodity production is probably about 20 percent. As in all industrialized countries, the chemical industry is of central importance to the GDR economy: Without it everything would stop working.

Forty percent of production is concentrated in the firms in the Halle "Chemical District" at the location of the former IG-Farben firm. The smell of industrial chemistry is in the air of the entire district. Halle is the GDR region with the worst environmental pollution. Leuna was and continues to be one of the largest chemical companies in Germany and Europe. The products of IG-Farben used to go all over the world, as do the products of the GDR chemical combines today. The GDR chemical industry is one of the most significant sources of foreign exchange, perhaps the largest. It ranks very high internationally and has for a long time.

On Sunday morning when the SED Politburo makes its traditional rounds of the fair grounds in Leipzig, the chemical industry is always granted due respect! A visit is regularly paid to one of the two FRG chemical giants always present at Leipzig, Hoechst or BASF. Ever since the reconstruction of the chemical firms largely destroyed or dismantled by the Soviet Union, this branch has been one of the pressing industrial policy responsibilities.

The GDR chemical industry has proportionally strong representation in the SED central committee, the most important leadership body after the Politburo. It is no coincidence that, following Honecker's assumption of office as SED General Secretary in 1971, four directors general of chemical combines were appointed to the central committee. Next to the Minister for Foreign Trade, Horst Soelle, the GDR Minister for Chemical Industry, Guenther Wyachowski, is the longest serving departmental minister in the GDR. He has been a member of the central committee since 1963; he became minister in 1966, and the fact that he still is after almost 20 years proves that the party is satisfied with him and with the industry. It is quite conceivable that his political career is not finished yet. Wyachowski, born into a working-class family in Bischofswerda in Saxony in 1929, began an apprenticeship as a skilled worker in chemistry in a synthetic resin company in 1945; he was soon selected to attend the newly created Workers' and Farmers' Faculty in Halle. After completing his abitur, he began chemistry studies in Dresden and finished them in Leipzig with his diploma. The SED recognized his qualities; that is why he was appointed to the central committee in 1953 as a "young man." A year ago, the title of honorary doctor was conferred on him by the technological university in Leuna-Merseburg. The combination of this large branch of industry into 14 large enterprises seems practical to the party and to the GDR government. The structures seem well organized; the responsibility, clear. To these 14 combines should be added the "Minol" combine, which manages the distribution of fuel, and a foreign trade firm. The large combines, like, for example, Leuna or Schwedt, are largely independent in foreign trade (the potash industry, important for the GDR, and also rock salt operations are supported by their own ministries). Based on their market structure, the 14 large combines are, like most industrial operations in the GDR, classical monopolies, or unique suppliers.

#### The 14 GDR Chemical Industry Combines

<u>Combine</u>	<u>Location</u>	<u>Employees</u>	<u>Production Program</u>
VEB Petrochemical Combine	Schwedt	30,000	Refinery products and end products
VEB Leuna "Walter Ulbricht" Works	Leuna	33,000	Fertilizer, methanol, plastics, emollients, adhesives, fuels, waxes
VEB Chemical Works	Schkopau	30,000	Synthetic rubber, chlorine, vinylchloride and PVC, polyacrylics, high density polyethylene, glycols, stabilizers
VEB Synthetics Works	Schwarzeheide	12,000	Polyurethane materials, systems and foamed materials, herbicides, explosives, pyrotechnic products



<u>Combine</u>	<u>Location</u>	<u>Employees</u>	<u>Production Program</u>
VEB Combine for Plastic and Elastomer Processing	Berlin	31,000	Phenoplast molding compounds and laminates, filters, packaging materials, plastic and synthetic rubber consumer and industrial products
VEB "Wilhelm Pieck" Synthetic Fiber Works	Schwarza	30,000	Polyamide, polyester and acrylic fibers and threads; spinnerets
VEB Chemical Combine	Bitterfeld	30,500	Inorganic and organic basic chemicals, crop protection and insecticide materials, dyes and dye auxiliaries, catalysts, silicones
VEB Agrochemical Combine	Plesteritz	20,000	Fertilizer, crop protection and insecticide materials, inorganic and organic basic chemicals, pharmaceuticals
VEB Gerned Pharmaceutical Combine	Dresden		Drugs; pharmaceutical raw materials and active ingredients; laboratory, refined and biochemicals, diagnostics
VEB Lacquer and Paint Combine	Berlin	6,000	Paints, specialized dyes, dispersions, white pigments and (Bunt) pigments, resins for lacquers and varnishes, printing inks
VEB Photochemical Combine	Wolfen	18,500	Photochemical products (films), magnetic and video tapes
VEB Tire Combine	Fuerstenwalde	11,000	Tires, inner tubes, tube flaps and clinchers
VEB Cosmetic Combine	Berlin	9,000	Cosmetics
VEB Chemical Plant Construction Combine	Leipzig-Grinma	32,000	Petroleum processing systems, synthetic chemistry systems

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SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

**BASIC CHEMICALS INDUSTRY: FULL CAPACITY EFFICIENTLY ACHIEVED**

Leipzig CHEMISCHE TECHNIK in German Vol 37 No 9, Sep 85 pp 359-62

[Article by Wolfgang Kelm (Chamber of Technology), VEB Agrochemical Combine Piesteritz; and by Prof Dr Joachim Kund of the "Carl Schorlemmer" Technical College. Original title: "Management Tasks for the Rationalization of New Plants in Combines of the Basic Chemical Industry;" first paragraph is abstract]

**[Text] Abstract**

In the last 10 years, more than 20 new plants were put into operation in combines of the basic chemical industry. The issues of how long the startup and stabilization period of a plant last and how soon the plant reaches its full capacity are of great economic importance. High economic growth effects can be achieved—as the investigations reveal—through timely rationalization. The article will deal with the starting points for this and the management tasks rising from them for the future manager in particular as well as for research and engineering departments.

The transition to comprehensive intensification requires maximum use of resources to increase efficiency and subjecting all phases and elements of the production process to rationalization. As a rule, new plants demonstrate a high technical-economic and social level; they cannot, however, be exempted from this requirement. "We can do without investments which merely maintain the previous level of productive forces. Investments must rather open the door to high productivity and efficiency for the future" (Endnote 1) ("Report of the SED Central Committee to the 10th SED Party Congress," reporter: Erich Honecker, Berlin, Dietz Verlag, 1981, p 57). Contributing factors in this are early accomplishment of or consideration of opportunities for rationalization.

**Necessity of Rationalization of New Plants**

A new plant is a plant (Footnote 2) (From a technical standpoint, the term "plant" refers to "a system of interconnected pieces of equipment." (Endnote 2) (Author collective, "Verfahrenstechnische Projektierung von Chemieanlagen: Anlagengestaltung I" [Process Engineering Planning of Chemical

Plants: Plant Design I], Leipzig, VEB Deutscher Verlag fuer Grundstoffindustrie, 1977, p 9)), which, in comparison with similar plants currently in production, demonstrates a higher technical-economic and social level, which is in its first stages of use, and which has developmental resources, as well as process engineering and technology, at its disposal, whose exploitation leads to a more favorable cost-yield ratio than other rationalization projects of the basic economic unit [enterprise].

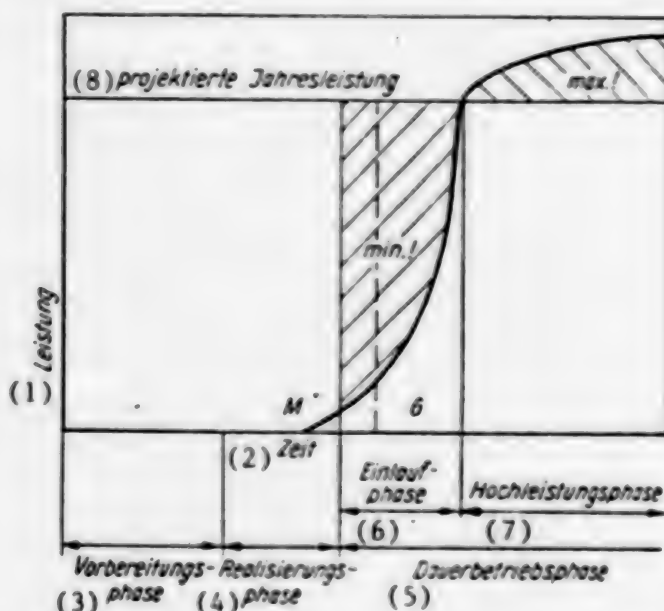


Illustration 1. Rationalization of new plants from the point of view of production efficiency. M represents completion of assembly; G, end of warranty period.

#### Key:

- |                       |                                 |
|-----------------------|---------------------------------|
| 1. Performance        | 5. Continuous operation phase   |
| 2. Time               | 6. Startup phase                |
| 3. Preparation phase  | 7. Maximum performance phase    |
| 4. Construction phase | 8. Projected annual performance |

The need for and priorities of rationalization as well as the management tasks resulting from them were analyzed in approximately 20 new plants put into operation during the last 10 years primarily in combines of the basic chemical industry.

Aspects necessitating or making rationalization measures possible immediately after startup of the plants were especially:

- progress in scientific-technical knowledge during the planning and construction stages
- changes in production requirements for the plant
- changes in availability of manpower and resources.

In addition to that, high economic growth effects can be accomplished by timely use of resources and quick transfer of innovations. The reasons for this are especially (see Illustration 1):

- reduction of the period of time from startup to achievement of full production efficiency (Endnote 3) (H. Axen, "The Politburo Report to the SED Central Committee," Fifth SED Central Committee Meeting, 25-26 November 1981, Berlin, Dietz Verlag, 1982, p 39) and

- timely achievement of the maximum performance phase of the plant (Footnote 3) (The maximum performance phase of a plant is the period of time in its production cycle during which its most important parameters lie essentially below the consumption parameters or above the performance parameters of the plan. The temporal limits of this period in the production cycle are defined as the end of the startup phase and the point in time following which further growth in performance must be offset by proportionally excessive, that is, above average for the enterprise, expenditures.).

The growth in performance accomplished by putting the new plants examined into service falls in the range of from 20 to 200 percent based on the respective enterprise and especially points to the economic significance of early rationalization.

Disregarding the time factor results in rationalization taking place in small steps over a longer period of time while production is maintained and, because of this, real economic effects are not achieved until a later time.

For the VEB Agrochemical Combine Plesteritz, the economic effect of timely rationalization of the highly automated single track plants for production of ammonia and urea on the production process of the parent operation is reflected in the following data:

With expenditures for rationalization of these plants accounting for 31 percent of all such expenditures by the parent firm, after a year of successful operation of this important plant complex, the growth in commodity production of the parent company was 79 percent and the average targeted savings for materials and energy for the next 5 years was assured at 97 percent. The cost-yield relationships according to type of expenditure are shown in Table 1.

Unlike the favorable cost-yield relationships of rationalization investments, new investments show investment efficiencies which fall in the range of from M 155 to M 395 of commodity production per M 1,000 of investments. The minimum requirement of the 10th SED Party Congress for the average of all investments was set at M 755 (Endnote 4) ("Report of the Central Committee," Fifth Meeting of the SED Central Committee, 25-26 November 1981, Berlin, Dietz Verlag, 1982, p 58).



Table 1. Comparison of cost-yield relationships after rationalization measures, classified by type of expenditure in the ammonia-urea facility during the maximum performance phase and as an average of the firm's IWP (industrial commodity production)

<u>Index</u>	<u>Plant Complex</u>	<u>Enterprise</u>
Incremental investment output ratio (IWP: Investment expenditure)	2.43	0.91
Research output ratio (IWP: Research expenditure)	3.08	1.69
Maintenance output ratio (IWP: Maintenance expenditure)	1.00	0.38
Total output ratio (IWP: Science and engineering expenditure)	0.58	0.23

The efficiency of new investments and rationalization investments immediately following them in selected plants in basic industry are contrasted in Table 2.

In general, this shows that a plant is already in need of rationalization as soon as it goes into operation. To the extent that economic demands on a firm increase, that price dynamics of plants of both import and domestic origin and high regional economic costs burden combines increasingly during large projects, the need to raise the overall efficiency of these projects and to utilize their early rationalization as a source of growth increases.

#### Forming Assumptions for Rationalization During the Negotiation and Construction Phase

Achieving the effects of rationalization as soon as possible assumes forming favorable conditions for it even within the framework of negotiations, or concurrently with the investment process. The essential task in this stage consists of developing an understanding very early about which of the strategies for rationalization are to be followed for the rapid achievement of the maximum performance phase and for the entire duration of the production period of the plant. That is why it is necessary to examine the requirements for the developmental possibilities of the plants to be created.

Such requirements can result in particular from:

- necessary above average performance growth within the enterprise,
- long-term increasing limitation of the available labor force,
- continued production profiling in the direction of increased upgrading,
- cessation or drastic reduction of imports,
- necessary flexibility in the face of changing production conditions.

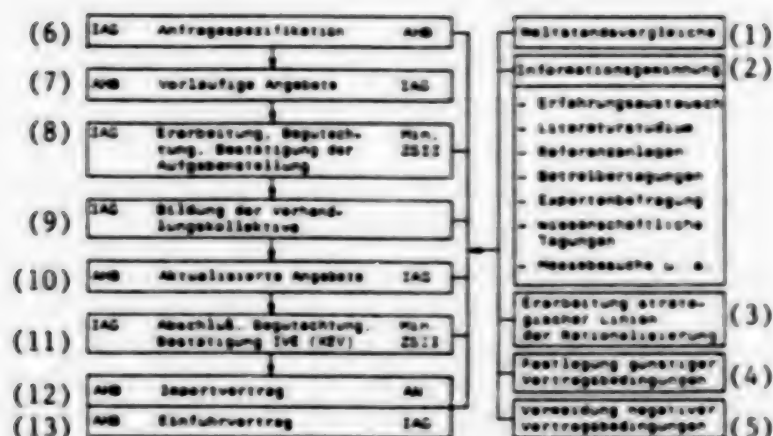
Table 2. Contrast of the efficiency of new and rationalization investments in selected plants in basic industry [as published with 2 notations for 3 plants and none for 2 plants]

<u>Project Size</u>	<u>Incremental Investment Output Ratio of New Investment</u>	<u>Fixed Assets Ratio of the Firm</u>	<u>Contribution of the New Plants to the Firm's IWP</u>	<u>Incremental Investment Output Ratio of Rationalization Investment</u>
	<u>in marks/1,000 marks</u>	<u>in marks/1,000 marks</u>	<u>in percent</u>	<u>in marks/1,000 marks</u>
Projects with 5 new plants	325	790	23	1,500
Projects with 4 new plants	400	770	25	1,200
Projects with 1 new plant	300	350	70	1,000
Projects with 3 new plants	600	1,700	20	1,100
Projects with 3 new plants	250	650	13	900

The generally known fact that, with the advancing level of processing of investment documentation, knowledge of the new plant increases continually on the one hand, but, on the other hand, the possibilities for imposing individual conceptual illusions decline, must be especially considered while preparing to conclude the contract. Because of this, the collection of information plays a very crucial role for all parties involved even in the early stages of arranging investments.

In addition to specialized literature, travel, meetings, scientific conferences held by the larger plant suppliers and licensors, questioning of experts, and consultations, there are numerous possibilities which definitely should be explored to determine the starting points for rationalization before conclusion of the contract (see Illustration 2).

Not infrequently, failure to take advantage of these possibilities in plant planning, for economic and other reasons, has led to longer stabilization phases and excessively delayed rationalization phases. The resultant losses far exceed the savings in these insignificant expenses, which, as a rule, make up less than 1 percent of the total investment.



**Illustration 2. Priorities for preparation for rationalization of new plants in the phase ending with establishment of the contract. (IAG represents investment client; AHB, foreign trade enterprise; Min, ministry, ZSII, central state investment committee; IAN, investment contractor; IVE, preliminary decision to invest; KEV [expansion unknown])**

**Key:**

- |                                  |  |
|----------------------------------|--|
| 1. Study of need internationally | 6. IAG Inquiry specification AHB       |
| 2. Information gathering         | 7. AHB Preliminary bid IAG             |
| -Exchange of experiences         | 8. IAG Elaboration, Min. ZSII          |
| -Study of literature             | Assessment,                            |
| -Comparable plants               | Confirmation of                        |
| -Operators meetings              | types of problems                      |
| -Consultation with experts       | 9. IAG Formation of negotiating        |
| -Scientific meetings             | team                                   |
| -Trade show visits, etc.         | 10. AHB Updated bid IAG                |
| 3. Elaboration of the strategies | 11. IAG Contract conclusion, Min. ZSII |
| for rationalization              | Assessment,                            |
| 4. Determination of favorable    | IVE (KEV) authorization                |
| contract conditions              | 12. AHB Import contract IAN            |
| 5. Avoidance of negative         | 13. AHB Import contract IAG            |
| contract conditions              |  |

The importance of efficient use of experiences of CEMA partners for startup and rationalization was demonstrated for example in the cases of the ethylene plants of Litvinov (USSR) and Boehlen as well as the ammonia plants of Piesteritz and Newinnowysk.

An additional priority in the formulation of assumptions for rationalization is avoidance of obstructive clauses in the contract. The following clauses which are often encountered in major contracts are especially obstructive for rationalization:

- inclusion of restricted export categories,
- prohibition of development on one's own without authorization from plant suppliers or licensors
- inclusion of product quality, assortment and production quotas
- purchase agreements connected to stock investments, etc.
- product- and plant-specific difficulties.

Ultimately such inclusions can frequently only be circumvented with higher expenditures for rationalization.

The critical premises, according to which investment is to be prepared for and executed, are set at the time of the conclusion of the contract and the submission of technical supplements. Innovations, which result in contract and project changes, are hindrances both to the interests of the firm accepting the order as well as to the complexity of the investment process. Experiences from successful startup and timely rationalization imply that the active role of the investor and his technically based knowledge are decisive in achieving additional economic effects through relatively small improvements of the process, additional investments, etc. (Illustration 3).

Rationalization ideas, which may be integrated into the ongoing investment process through concurrent processing of documentation, are found in the results of project monitoring, process analyses on the basis of the project, and evaluation of other information, during design or even during order documentation.

In addition, the existing cooperative relationships with the investor's on-site supervisory staff are especially useful to the future operator for a smooth transfer immediately following the startup of the plant. The ongoing financial and contractual relationships offer more favorable opportunities for material implementation of innovations than after the dismantling of the construction site.

An additional starting point for preparation for rationalization during the investment phase consists of considering project-related connections for future rationalization measures. Of particular importance among these are:

- consideration of such measures from the standpoint of internal and external factory space, energy, supplies, and waste management
- consideration, acquisition and installation of test and measurement technologies, automated data collection systems for a thoroughgoing scientific-technical penetration of the processes
- creation of built-in connections for expansion units and stock investments



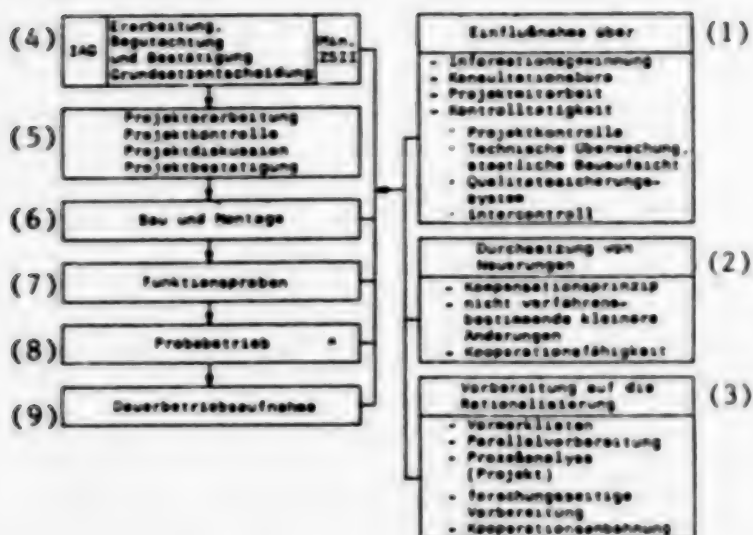


Illustration 3. Rationalization priorities in the phase ending with the start of continuous operation

#### Key:

1. Exertion of influence over
  - Gathering of information
  - Consultation office
  - Project cooperation
  - Supervisory activity
    - project control
    - technical supervision, building supervision department
    - quality control system
    - intercontrol
2. Implementation of innovations
  - Compensation principles
  - Relatively small changes not affecting the process
  - Cooperation potentials
3. Preparation for rationalization
  - Possibilities list
  - Concurrent preparation
  - Process analysis (plan)
  - Research related preparation
  - Initiation of cooperation
4. IAG Elaboration, Min. ZSII assessment and authorization of decisions on principles
5. Project elaboration  
Project supervision  
Project discussion  
Project authorization
6. Construction and assembly
7. Performance checks
8. Test runs
9. Start of continuous operation

#### Crucial Role of the Future Operator

The primary activities for rationalization of new plants with investors must, of necessity, originate with the future operator, that is, with the production department (Endnote 5) (W. Kelm and J. Kund, CHEMISCHE TECHNIK, Vol 35, 1983,

pp 319-321). As a rule, this department develops from the pool of the investor's on-site supervisory staff and should concentrate its rationalization activities primarily on:

- extension of the capacities for rationalization of processes, of decentralized groups of technologists, laboratories, project designer groups, maintenance capabilities based on the scope of the planned strategies,
- intensive project study and project supervision within specific aspects of rationalization
- establishing production cooperation with domestic and foreign partners,
- content-related, structural and technical preparation of process analyses, the methodical keystone of the scientific-technical penetration of the future production process,
- planning of future rationalization investments.

The major interest of the future operator in this will consist of providing all the conditions to assure, in a timely manner, stabilized operation of the plant. Priorities in this are:

- elimination of "childhood diseases" through early recognition of process weaknesses,
- recognition and elimination of plan-, construction-, and assembly errors to achieve a troublefree startup,
- design, research, and investment preparations for further innovations to increase production and efficiency.

Handling these priorities quite often depends on the personality of the manager, his position relative to the supplier, the clarity and the status of the rationalization strategy and other factors.

Of particular importance for the control of the extensive conceptual, analytical and technical tasks of rationalization is its possible managerial inclusion in the investment process.

Based on previous experience, the establishment, according to the following criteria, of an organizational unit for process rationalization with the priority of process-related research and timely implementation of innovations is useful to the future operator:

- process-specific
- size of the new production process (beginning at approximately 400 employees)
- scope and complexity of the rationalization plan.

The size of such an organizational unit should not exceed from 4 to 6 percent of the production personnel for the process involved, and it should also be developed from the scientific-technical staff needed for the preparation of the investment.

## Engineering Department Influences Numerous Factors in Full Capacity Utilization

The contribution of the engineering department to rationalization is directed at increasing the time of full capacity utilization of plants and at preparing for and effecting rationalization investments quickly.

The high scientific-technical and social level of the newly installed plants in the basic chemistry industry permits the accomplishment of maintenance according to plan. The prerequisites for it are found in an efficient and timely preparation of the firm by its maintenance department. Just as the future operator must cooperate in the preparation and construction phases, maintenance must also be involved. The elaboration of individual ideas for the scientific-technical penetration of the project from the standpoint of rationalization and the creation of low-maintenance and easily maintainable constructions form important bases for this. Involvement of maintenance personnel in the construction phase, for example, as assembly workers or to handle other bottlenecks, has proved to be worthwhile.

An additional important condition for rationalization and maintenance according to plan is technical diagnostics, which must be set up with plant-specific rationalization staff and technical research as a specific technical pool for rationalization.

Unavailability and lack of ability of relatively large in-house maintenance staffs for general overhauls as well as the high economic losses for every hour of downtime force operators of large plants into maintenance cooperatives in their branch of industry, in the region and on international levels.

Therefore, general overhauls are gaining increasing significance as the major route to modernization, and also for guaranteeing longer uninterrupted running times for highly automated plants. Because of the high intensity of cooperation resulting from this, the necessarily high level of prefabrication, the high manpower and equipment concentration, and the enormous range of capacities, such general overhauls are like investments in speeding up time and make extremely great demands on management.

## Research Guarantees Long-Term Growth of Performance

The primary activities in the area of research and development in preparation for rationalization are based on adaptation research and conceptual work. In the 20 large plants studied, the scientific-technical advances were 90 percent imported. The research departments of the combines in these projects limited themselves, as a rule, to adaptation research.

The main objective for research in the rationalization of new plants is to continue to develop plants and technologies, for both the intermediate term and the long term, to achieve savings- and growth effects, and especially to reduce productive consumption drastically.

The coordination between centralized research and decentralized process rationalization is intended to assure material connection to other processes,

research cooperation, and development of new products. To this end, research work for large plants is extremely complex and includes product development and process research as well as technical research. It is therefore advisable that, in project-related, long-term conceptual work, the developmental lines of the new plants be elaborated through teamwork by the development and research departments of the combine, the future operator, and other departments and that the required cooperation already be established during the investment process.

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SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

HUNGARY

JOURNAL ARTICLES ENUMERATED

Budapest MAGYAR ELEKTRONIKA in Hungarian No 2, 1985 pp 2, 3

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## ON OUR COVER

The first Hungarian Fourier analyzer has been created as the result of several years of developmental work at the BEAG [Budapest Electroacoustics Factory]. This most complex measuring instrument is a significant developmental achievement from the viewpoint of both measurement technology and computer technology. Gabor Rajkai--leader of the developmental work--describes the course of the planning, the basic principle of operation and the structure of the device. The author and his colleagues will return later to the problems of detail and the circuit solutions which may be of interest. Manufacture of the device has begun and it can be ordered from the BEAG.

## DEVICES

Our readers will find three articles in our column with this title. In addition to the Fourier analyzer we can become acquainted with a significant family of devices, the TELMES programmed attenuators. These instruments, which can be used in high frequency measurement technology, are unique on the socialist market. Istvan Haraszti and Gyorgy Sandi, who led the development, describe their structure and technical data. The third communique--the article by Ferenc Kekesi--leads the reader to a new area in Hungary. Here we are still at the age of initial testing of video tape image recording, but we must agree with the author that in the course of working out long-range developmental ideas we must consider a new method of image recording, the image disk technique. In a recent article, while analyzing the American (U.S.) video market, it was established that this technique, used by few firms, is a slowly developing business there and--possibly--it will be a primary method for professional image recording in the near future.

## USER IC's

We cannot have much news yet about domestic use of equipment oriented integrated circuits. The design and manufacturing conditions for using this new circuit design technology already exist at the MEV [Microelectronics Enterprise] and we hope that use will begin shortly. As a result of the design work of Tibor Tuzson and Janos Erdelyi we already have the first LSI complexity design based on the U400 semifinished circuit, an 8 bit parallel multiplier. The circuit, which is significant in the designing of microprocessor systems, is a good example of the use of user designed integrated circuits. According to the tests the first examples work well and series manufacture can begin if there is a demand.

## PANORAMA

We put Peter Horvath's article about the "mouse" in this column--for lack of a better. The "mouse" is a valuable accessory for microcomputers; they use it abroad in the solution of graphics tasks and for games. According to our information no one here makes a mouse yet, although surely there would be a demand for it. The article summarizes various solutions and analyzes their advantages and disadvantages.

## FURTHER TRAINING

In this issue Ferenc Beleznyai finishes his series on the physical fundamentals of the semiconductor. Many--who have followed him as he introduces us to the secrets of the operation of semiconductor devices--would like the series to continue. We hope that in the future we will be able to satisfy our readers' thirst for knowledge; we will continue our series. In our next issue we will describe the principles of the operation of the MOS transistor.

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SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

HUNGARY

HUNGARIAN RAPID FOURIER ANALYZER

Budapest MAGYAR ELEKTRONIKA in Hungarian No 2, 1985 pp 16-24

[Article by Gabor Rajkai: "A Domestic Rapid Fourier Analyzer"]

[Excerpts] On a commission from the Electroacoustical Factory engineers of the "PONT" Automation and Measurement Technology Small Cooperative have developed a rapid Fourier analyzer which can be used in many ways. In the following we will describe the circumstances involving the creation of the instrument, its chief characteristics and its systems structure.

A rapid Fourier analyzer (FFT analyzer) working up to 20 kHz could be a useful tool in many areas of science and technology. Desk or portable instruments using this principle are manufactured in series in only a few of the most developed capitalist countries (the United States, Japan, Denmark). Despite the fact that a need for simultaneous frequency analysis has appeared in a number of places here at home these imported instruments are not widespread because of acquisition difficulties.

The OMC 105 Universal Rapid Fourier Analyzer manufactured and sold by the Electroacoustical Factory serves to satisfy needs in a number of quite different areas (for example, machine diagnostics, acoustics, medical biology and telecommunications).

Gabor Rajkai:

I am 40 years old. I graduated in 1969 from the day branch of the Electrical Engineering School of the Budapest Technical University. For 10 years I worked in various assignments at the BEAG [Budapest Electroacoustics Factory], dealing primarily with the development of electroacoustical transformers. For 4 years I headed a developmental department of the factory. In 1979 I got a job at the Measurement Technology Research Laboratory of the Horticultural University. Here I had foodstuffs industry and agricultural automation and measurement technology tasks. In 1979 I got a doctorate at the Budapest Technical University in technical acoustics. In 1983, with my colleagues, I formed the PONT Automation and Measurement Technology Small Cooperative and I have been president of it since. My favorite area is digital signal processing. I have two sons and one daughter. If my time and opportunities permit I like to travel and go on excursions.

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SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

HUNGARY

#### PROGRAMMABLE ATTENUATORS

Budapest MAGYAR ELEKTRONIKA in Hungarian No 2, 1985 pp 25-32

[Article by Istvan Haraszti and Gyorgy Sasdi: "Programmable Attenuators"]

[Excerpts] The Status of Domestic Manufacture and Development

Equipment similar to the attenuators described above could be obtained only from capitalist importers. For this reason the CEMA countries posted the goal of producing them, and the development and manufacture were assigned to Hungary. Thus development began in 1971 in the MIKI [Instrument Industry Research Institute].

As a result of the great market demand manufacture of even the first units to be developed began in a fairly large series. In view of the larger number of units the MIKI transferred the manufacturing license to the TELMES Instrument Manufacturing Cooperative which undertook the manufacture necessary to satisfy the needs of the CEMA market. At the same time TELMES undertook the development of additional models.

In the elapsed period we have developed six basic models and a number of versions of these suiting user needs. The TELMES Instrument Manufacturing Cooperative is manufacturing the developed units at this time. The foreign dealer is Metrimpex and the domestic dealers are the MIGERT commercial enterprise and the manufacturer.

#### General Characteristics of Programmable Attenuators Manufactured by TELMES

In the course of the developmental work we always strove for a uniform solution. The goal was an application of technologies which would make economical manufacture possible. In accordance with this the devices have a uniform systems design and mechanical structure, despite the fact that every basic type is manufactured in several versions. We ensured this by building the devices out of units which were independent in the systems technology sense, and the various variations of these provide the differing versions of the several basic types.

## Electric Manual and Computer Controlled Programmed Attenuator

The systems structure of the programmable attenuators makes possible the production of many variations meeting the market needs. The basic unit of each version is the high frequency damping block.

The structure of the high frequency damping block is uniform in all basic types. In each of them the desired attenuation value can be set with the aid of special high frequency switches, with the aid of base pads linked in series. Each damping block consists of a maximum of three decades linked in series.

The attenuator pads in these damping blocks are made with thin layer technology (developed and manufactured by the MEV [Microelectronics Enterprise]). Pi pads consisting of discrete elements are used in the frequency range below 1.3 GHz while distributed parameter attenuator pads are used in the frequency range above 1.3 GHz. In the interest of high precision and long lived stability the attenuator wafers are aged thin layer circuits.

The essential element of the high frequency damping block is the high frequency switch, which must satisfy the requirements described in Section 2. Developing the switches used in the damping blocks was one of the most important steps of the development. And a number of solutions were found; these differ fundamentally from the switching elements used thus far. The high precision setting technology for the attenuator wafers and the structure of the high frequency switches used are service patents of TELMES.

To facilitate measurements a high frequency switch-over family was developed for the programmable attenuators. Such a switch suiting each type figures in the technical data for every type and can be ordered as an option.

"N" type connectors, in the range above 1 GHz, and "BNC" type connectors, in the frequency range below 1 GHz, were fitted to the high frequency signal inputs and outputs of the programmable attenuators, or high frequency switches.

A new attenuator, and switch-over for it, is under development now; it will operate in the DC-18 GHz frequency range.

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TABLE OF TECHNICAL DATA

Data Category	TT-4132/B	TT-4134/B	TT-4135/A
Frequency range	DC... 1 GHz	DC... 100 MHz	DC... 500 MHz
Surge impedance	50 ohm	75 ohm	50 ohm
Attenuation range	0...90 dB	0...99.9 dB	0...120 dB
Attenuation steps	10 dB	0.1 dB	10 dB
Precision	+/- 0.3 dB to 1 kHz +/- 1.0 dB to 1 GHz	+/- 0.1 dB for the 0.1 dB and 1 dB decades +/- 0.1 dB to 10-50 dB +/- 0.15 dB to 50-80 dB +/- 0.2 dB to 80-90 dB	+/- 0.3 dB to 1 kHz +/- 1.5 dB to 500 MHz, 90 dB +/- 3.0 dB to 500 MHz, 120 dB
Data Category	TT-4138/B	TT-4139/B	TT-4132/C
Frequency range	DC... 1.3 GHz	DC... 1 GHz	DC... 2.5 GHz
Surge impedance	50 ohm	50 ohm	50 ohm
Attenuation range	0...140 dB	0...129.9 dB	0...60 dB
Attenuation steps	1 dB	0.1 dB	10 dB
Precision	+/- 1 dB to 1.3 GHz, 90 dB +/- 2 dB to 1.3 GHz, 120 dB +/- 3 dB to 1.2 GHz, 140 dB	for the 0.1 dB decade, +/- 0.1 dB to 1 kHz +/- 0.35 dB to 1 GHz for the 10 dB decade, +/- 0.3 dB to 1 kHz +/- 1.5 dB to 1 GHz, 90 dB +/- 3.0 dB to 1 GHz, 120 dB	+/- 0.5 dB to 20 dB +/- 2.0% to 60 dB

Gyorgy Sasdi:

I was born in 1949 in Budapest. I earned a diploma in 1971 at the Kalman Kando Electric Industry Technical College. For 2 years after that I dealt with the development of electronic geodetic instruments at the Hungarian Optical Works and then worked as a scientific colleague at the Instrument Industry Research Institute. Here I primarily designed automatic measurement systems and

microwave attenuators. Since 1981, with the formation of the small undertaking forms, I have developed a family of microwave attenuators for the TELMES Instrument Manufacturing Cooperative.

Istvan Haraszti:

I was born in 1951 in Budapest. I received an electrical engineering diploma in 1974 at the Budapest Technical University. After finishing the university I worked in the Instrument Industry Research Institute as a scientific colleague where I dealt primarily with the development of microwave attenuators for automatic measurement systems. In recent years I have worked for various small undertakings, developing electronic instruments. One of the chief areas within this was further development of the high frequency attenuator family for the TELMES Instrument Manufacturing Cooperative. I am married and have four children. In my free time I like to listen to music.

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SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

HUNGARY

U 400 EBM 8 BIT PARALLEL MULTIPLIER

Budapest MAGYAR ELEKTRONIKA in Hungarian No 2, 1985 pp 45-49

[Article by Tibor Tuzson and Janos Erdelyi: "U 400 EBM 8 Bit Parallel Multiplier"]

[Excerpts] Even if only by a few days, our multiplier is the first operating U 400 circuit type. We feel that it is the first domestic step toward two great areas characterizing the microelectronics of the future--very large scale integration (VLSI) in the area of design and using the power of digital signal processing in applications.

Results

The first samples of the U 400 EBM have been made and they operate properly. The parametric measurements prove the correctness of the estimate in regard to speed; the time to execute an operation is around 1 microsecond. This means two very important things: the preliminary speed data can be met safely even taking the technological spread into consideration, and using options one can specify a fast version at a speed of 1 microsecond.

The regularity of the structure makes possible an exceptionally high 75 percent utilization of the U 400. Loading is almost even. Coupled with simple testing possibilities these properties make the circuit suitable for playing the role of an output measurement diagram during manufacture.

Applications Possibilities

The multiplier is a device which can be used generally in the area of signal processing and computer technology. Encouraging tests are being made with it to replace imported devices in the digital filter of a 2,400 bit per second duplex modem.

Possible Further Steps

A single supply voltage version of the U 400 with an increased number of elements, the UA 420, is now under development at the MEV [Microelectronics Enterprise]. The unchanged basic cell makes possible simple redesign of the layout of the multiplier for the new model. Using the two terminals freed (at

the +12 V and -5 V locations) and the extra cells, the circuit can be supplemented with input stores, which thus can be connected directly to the 8 bit bidirectional data bus.

Development of an entirely unique multiplier has begun also. One can achieve much greater element density than that of a gate network with the same technology; it becomes possible to increase speed by optimizing both the algorithm and the circuit subassemblies. The 16 bit multiplier accumulator figuring in the plans will contain a structure which is new in principle and not thus far known, resulting in operation faster by 30-40 percent. According to the results of a simulation, the time to execute an operation will be less than 500 nanoseconds. The results will be reported later.

Tibor Tuzson:

I was born in 1947 in Kolozsvar [Cluj]. I graduated from the Bucharest Technical University in 1970. At present I am design engineer for BOAK's [equipment oriented circuits] at the Microelectronics Enterprise. My chief area of interest is digital signal processing and devices for it; I am the author or co-author of a number of engineer further training lectures and notes on the subject and have participated, as speaker, at a number of Hungarian and foreign conferences. My most recent work is a dictionary titled "Electronics and Its Background Areas; A Collection of English Abbreviations and Acronyms." I am now preparing to earn a doctorate and thus have little free time.

Janos Erdelyi:

I was born in Budapest in 1957. I graduated from the Electrical Engineering School of the Budapest Technical University in 1981, in the technical physics branch. Following this I took part in 2 years of day special engineer training, one of the products of this period was the U 400 EBM. I work at the Communications Engineering Cooperative as an IC design engineer. I am unmarried and fill my little free time primarily with reading and listening to music.

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15 January 1986

## SOCIOLOGY

## YUGOSLAVIA

## SOCIOLOGICAL BACKGROUND OF NATIONALIST EVENTS IN SPLIT

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 26 Nov 85 p 3

[Article by Viktor Meier: "Yugoslav Communists Embarrassed by 'Their Split'--Belgrade Sees Organized Provocations Back of the Excesses of Hajduk Fans"]

[Text] Split, 25 Nov--The cathedral of Split, consecrated to the local patron saint, St Dujam, used to be the mausoleum of Emperor Diocletian. Displayed not far from it, in the baptistry, is one of the first works of art of the Slavs, who immigrated later, a stone tablet portraying figures in the primitive style. In the cathedral itself one can trace the development of the Venetian style from Gothic to Renaissance to Baroque. Finally, as a testimony to modern art, there is a bronze figure in the baptistry by Ivan Mestrovic, the great Croatian sculptor who once had a house in Split but then settled in the United States after World War II. There are not many European towns which like Split can point to such unbroken continuity.

## Proletarian Course

In other respects too, visitors to Split are told, the town is something special among the towns of Yugoslavia: it is a precursor of trends.

It is here, the capital of Dalmatia, that political "Yugoslavism" developed, one is told, and from here Trumbic, after the state had been founded, attempted to inject his Dalmatian liberalism into the crude concept of Serbian hegemonism. Finally, communists speak of a "Red Split" because, they say, already before the war there existed here, though never in the majority, a strong proletarian communist-oriented nucleus of workers and small farmers living in the town. In the war itself, when Split was not only occupied but annexed by Italy, the partisans gained a great number of supporters in the town and its environs, primarily because of their all-Yugoslav orientation.

Today the Yugoslav communists suddenly face "their" Split with embarrassment. The "enemy," the local people in power say, "inflicted a blow" and achieved deep "penetration" of the town. On 20 October, after a soccer game between Hajduk of Split and Red Star of Belgrade there occurred excesses both against fans from Belgrade and against cadets of the naval academy. These were only high points of a whole series of "provocations." Police arrested 19 youths, of whom 10 shortly thereafter were turned over to the juvenile courts. Though it was a small catch, party officials speak darkly of "organizing" and "remote control."

They say that Split apparently was chosen as the first objective to be attacked by the united forces of fascism, clerical nationalism, bourgeois rightists and anarchist leftists in order to abolish the achievements of socialism in Yugoslavia. This situation, it is asserted further, has to be viewed in a context with the "general reactionary trend in the world." In other words, a direct line was running from Reagan via Mrs Thatcher to the Hajduk fans who voiced their "hostile slogans."

This is serious and probably somewhat exaggerated language. But it testifies to the nervousness and helplessness of a regime which increasingly is governing without any luck. It is true, though, that in Split some social and political phenomena are apparent which are not--or not yet--so clearly evident in other parts of Yugoslavia. The town has a population of about 250,000 today, compared with 50,000 before the war. Except for a shipyard, a vinyl factory and a plastic factory, there are no important industries. With 10,000 registered unemployed, unemployment, particularly among youths, is above the Yugoslav average. In addition, Split is a regional center of schools, with a large number of college students and a still larger number of high school students.

#### New Catholic Arrivals

Of particular importance is the national structure of new arrivals. In contrast with other Dalmatian towns with an oftentimes Serbian or at least mixed hinterland, from the "zagorje" around Split--that is, from the land back of the coast--predominantly migrants who are highly Croatian oriented and strict Catholics came to Split. These settled in part in "wild" housing and in part in inexpensive apartment developments around the old town, representing above all the lower workers stratum.

From this suburban belt came the Hajduk fans who, half in fun and half in earnest, sounded their battle cry "Isus i Marija--Hajdukova Armija." Serious investigations are being conducted in Yugoslavia today into why in many places of the country the process of social identification and integration takes place first via a soccer club. Split, one hears people say, while traditionally "cosmopolitan," does not open up toward newcomers, and it is the soccer club which first becomes available to these as a vehicle. But in a 1-party state it is also less dangerous to tie one's national, political and religious feelings to "one's" soccer team than to express them in a direct manner.

#### Unsuitable Slogans

For the Hajduk club, whose well-equipped business premises lie right under the elegant oval grounds of the stadium, this is hardly a pleasant matter. Founded as early as 1911 under this name (which means something between freedom fighter and marauder, but always courageous), seven times Yugoslav champion (twice before the war), and also seven times winner of the Cup, Hajduk is described by its people as having always abided by a patriotic Yugoslav tradition, corresponding to the basic attitude of the no longer existing old Split. That has been proved during the war, when the club, rather than play for Italy, joined the partisans in a body. The players had then been transferred to



southern Italy via Tito's island of Vis. There the club had been newly formed. Incidentally, they say at the club, Hajduk has to play soccer, and there is nothing it can do about it if "individual" fans shout unsuitable slogans or do not behave properly. Hajduk wished to preserve its good name and also the name of its town, of which it frequently was a symbol abroad.

The increasing confrontations in Split are also due to the arrival of other newcomers, however. Owing to the mild climate, numerous retired officers, police and other officials have settled in Split. The SUBNOR veterans association is particularly strong in Split, and since the old gentlemen, we were told, have nothing else to do, they get worked up over anything, make a mountain out of a molehill and thus contribute substantially to the radicalization of the atmosphere. The pressure by the veteran partisans was seducing the authorities and police into exaggerated reactions, and if the "Dalmatian temperament" was added to this, the entanglements became virtually insolvable. It is being admitted that before the incidents of 20 October the police repeatedly displayed unwarranted brutality in the stadium. The "provocations" thus had come from both sides.

Nevertheless the alarmed regime is looking for the "enemy" in other camps. As is often the case, religion and the church become targets in Split as well. Party sociologist Vuskovic, in the local paper SLOBODAN DALMACIJA, reaches what he calls "frightening" conclusions. He states that 52 percent of the children of Split regard themselves as "religious," and of these, 78 percent are workers' children. The party was losing the working class. In 1968, 33 percent of the children had described themselves as "religious." Particularly serious, however, was the increase in the number of "very religious"--in other words, "militantly" religious--youths from 9 percent in 1968 to 22 percent now. This category, says Vuskovic, represents "militant anticommunism"; in it nationalism is most pronounced, and it reflects the "antisocialist alternative."

#### Doubts in 'Victory'

These are in fact significant realizations. Though Professor Vuskovic does not call straight for police, he calls for "political action." The party, he says, is doing little while 600 priests, members of orders, and sisters are active in behalf of the church around the clock in the Split area. "As communists we have given up fighting for people," he says, and adds: "As we are organized now, I doubt we will win this struggle."

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